Facilitating Meaningful Participation of Refugees at the 2019 Global Refugee Forum:
Key Considerations, Barriers to Realization, and Recommendations

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Introduction

In December 2018, a majority of United Nation (UN) Member States endorsed the final drafts of the Global Compact on Migration (GCM) and Global Compact on Refugees (GCR).[1] The Compacts provide a framework for collaboration and responsibility-sharing when responding to migrant flows and refugee emergencies across the globe. Both documents lay out a number of objectives for accomplishing safer, more organized migration routes that are undergirded by guiding principles.

Now as the UN, its Member States, and other stakeholders turn toward implementation, the international community must grapple with the task of finding ways to actualize the Compacts' objectives. Of particular concern for many stakeholders, including refugees and other forcibly displaced people themselves, is the ways in which refugees will be included in how this implementation will take place.

Both documents include calls for refugee and migrant participation in implementing the agreements.[2] The GCR in particular calls for a December 2019 ministerial-level meeting called the Global Refugee Forum (GRF) in Geneva where Member States and other stakeholders can make "pledges" to actualize objectives from the GCR through policy changes, programs, funding, and other actions.[3] However, it is still unclear how refugees will be included at the GRF.

This paper explores the principles that should underlie participatory processes and the barriers facing UNHCR in implementing a meaningful participation process for refugees. I ultimately provide recommendations for steps UNHCR can take and modalities through which

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[1] *Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration*. (2018, July 13). Retrieved from https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/180713_agreed_outcome_global_compact_for_migration.pdf; *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: Part II Global compact on refugees*. (2018, August 2). Retrieved from https://www.unhcr.org/gcr/GCR_English.pdf.

[2] GCR: "states and relevant stakeholders will facilitate meaningful participation of refugees, including women, persons with disabilities, and youth, in Global Refugee Forums, ensuring the inclusion of their perspectives on progress." (p. 20); GCM: "We will implement the Global Compact in cooperation and partnership with migrants, civil society, migrant and diaspora organizations, faith-based organizations, local authorities and communities, the private sector, trade unions, parliamentarians, National Human Rights Institutions, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, academia, the media and other relevant stakeholders." (p. 44).

[3] UNHCR. (2019). *Towards the First Global Refugee Forum: Organizational note for the first preparatory meeting - 29 March 2019*.

meaningful participation of refugees can be facilitated at the GRF. The findings of this paper have emerged through an iterative, collaborative process combining scholarship on participatory processes and stakeholder engagement, interviews with experts and scholars, and an examination of models of refugee participation in a variety of settings.

First, I will provide background on the GCR in order to situate the discussion about refugee participation at the GRF within the larger implementation process. I will include the key ideas from the text related to refugee participation and the current planning process for the GRF. I will also highlight the specific ways refugees have been included in the preparations so far. Next, I move to a discussion of important definitions, questions, principles, and practices of engaging stakeholders, particularly when those stakeholders are seen as the "beneficiaries" of policies being discussed. Next, I move to a discussion of barriers to meaningful refugee participation at the GRF. Finally, I offer six ways for UNHCR to respond to the barriers underpinned by the principles of stakeholder engagement and inclusive participatory processes in order to facilitate meaningful refugee participation at the GRF. These recommendations are: clearly define who "refugee" stakeholders are in the GRF context; understand how "meaningful participation" is defined and address barriers to realizing this level of participation where possible; UNHCR leaders lead a culture change to reconceptualize refugee stakeholders as partners; UNHCR pledges to create an office at UNHCR dedicated to facilitating refugee participation as a part of a mini-compact of the same theme; use a multi-modality approach to refugee participation at the GRF; include a refugee delegation at the GRF and encourage Member States and NGOs to include refugees in their delegations.

Background

The Global Compact on Refugees (GCR)

The Global Compact on Refugees was initiated by the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants. The Declaration was agreed upon by all 193 UN Member States and "expresse[d] the political will of world leaders to save lives, protect rights and share responsibility

on a global scale."[4] It called for Member States to make a number of commitments towards improved protections for refugees and migrants, and included action items in line with these commitments. One of the items in the Declaration was to "start negotiations leading to an international conference and the adoption of a global compact for safe, orderly, and regular migration in 2018."[5] Included in the Declaration's Annex I was the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) which "is essentially a plan for a comprehensive response in *hosting states* and not an approach for handling large onward movements of refugees from *countries of first asylum*."[6] The GCR was meant to work off of the progress made through CRRF by providing a broader framework by which Member States and other actors could respond to refugee emergencies, develop prevention strategies, and design solutions to protracted displacement situations.

The GCR was developed over two years of negotiations led by UNHCR. Multiple stakeholders provided input on the drafts of the GCR. Consultants included "Member States, international organizations, refugees, civil society, the private sector, and experts."[7] The final draft was agreed upon by most Member States in December 2018. In sum, 181 Member States voted in favor of the GCR, the United States and Hungary voted against it, and Eritrea, the Dominican Republic, and Libya abstained.[8]

The final text of the GCR is a non-binding agreement and boasts four objectives: easing the pressures on host countries; enhancing refugee self-reliance; expanding access to third-country solutions; and supporting conditions in countries of origin for return in safety and dignity. The document is organized into four sections: an introduction, the CRRF from Annex I of the New York

[4] New York Declaration [United Nations]. (2016). Retrieved May 6, 2019, from Refugees and Migrants website: https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/declaration
[5] "New York Declaration," 2016.
[6] Aleinikoff, A. (2018, February 19). Some Thoughts on the GCR (and the GCM) [Blog]. Retrieved February 1, 2019, from Forced Migration Forum website: https://forcedmigrationforum.com/2018/02/19/thoughts-on-the-gcr-and-the-gcm/ (emphasis mine)
[7] The Global Compact on Refugees. (2019). Retrieved February 1, 2019, from UNHCR USA website: https://www.unhcr.org/the-global-compact-on-refugees.html
[8] Besheer, M. (2018, December 17). UN States Adopt Global Compact on Refugees. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from VOA News website: https://www.voanews.com/a/un-states-adopt-global-compact-on-refugees/4704673.html

Declaration, a "Programme of Action" that lists action steps through which the GCR's objectives should be carried out, and plans for continual review of the GCR's implementation. It specifically calls for a Global Refugee Forum (GRF) to be held every four years as part of the review process.[9]

"Meaningful Participation" of Refugees in the GCR

Significantly, the GCR's text calls for refugees to be directly involved in the implementation of the GCR's objectives, including the GRF. The document highlights the necessity of refugee involvement for the success of implementation, and makes it incumbent on Member States and other stakeholders to ensure the inclusion of refugees in the process. For example, the GCR notes that "the programme of action is underpinned by a strong partnership and participatory approach, involving refugees and host communities, as well as age, gender, and diversity considerations…"[10] Related to the GRF it notes that "states and relevant stakeholders will facilitate meaningful participation of refugees...in Global Refugee Forums, ensuring the inclusion of their perspectives on progress."[11] The document underlines the importance of paying attention to representation among refugee participation as well, specifying that participation should include "women, persons with disabilities, and youth."[12]

The document also identifies "a multi-stakeholder and partnership approach"[13] as one of the "key tools for effecting burden- and responsibility-sharing"[14] in managing forced migration. The document goes on to justify this approach as key in stating that "responses are most effective when they actively and meaningfully engage those they are intended to protect and assist. Relevant actors will, wherever possible, continue to develop and support consultative processes that enable *refugees and host community members* to assist in designing appropriate, accessible, and inclusive responses."[15] Notably, the document does not prescribe what meaningful participation or

[9] "The Global Compact on Refugees," 2018.
[10] "The Global Compact on Refugees," 2018. p. 3.
[11] "The Global Compact on Refugees," 2018, p. 20.
[12] "The Global Compact on Refugees," 2018, p. 20.
[13] "The Global Compact on Refugees," 2018, p. 7.
[14] "The Global Compact on Refugees," 2018, p. 6.
[15] "The Global Compact on Refugees," 2018, p. 7.

engagement looks like in practice, leaving it up to Member States and other stakeholders to develop modalities through which refugee participation could be facilitated and to measure whether that participation is meaningful.

The 2019 Global Refugee Forum

As called for in the GCR, a Global Refugee Forum will take place every four years to assess the progress of the GCR's implementation across the globe. The first one will be held in December 2019 in Geneva, and planning for the Forum is already underway. A team from UNHCR has been organized to plan the logistics of the event, and a portion of the team forms a designated committee responsible for actualizing the "multi stakeholder" approach called for in the GCR. This includes engagement with not just refugees, but seven other key stakeholder groups.[16]

The Forum is based around two main activities. First, it "is an opportunity for UN Member States and other stakeholders to announce concrete contributions and pledges towards the objectives of the Global Compact to achieve tangible benefits for refugees and host communities."[17] Pledges can take a variety of forms. Beyond financial contributions, they can include "material and technical assistance; resettlement places and complementary pathways for admission to third countries; as well as other actions that States have elected to take at the national level."[18]

For the 2019 Forum, UNHCR identified a number of thematic areas around which pledges will ideally by constructed. Actors can make pledges outside of these thematic areas if they desire, however. The thematic areas include education, jobs and livelihoods, energy and infrastructure, solutions, and protection capacity.[19] UNHCR and the GRF Coordination Team is calling for a multi-stakeholder approach in the pledge development process, which includes refugee stakeholders.[20] UNHCR is envisioning pledges that are made of component parts with complementary

[16] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Skype]. (2019, March 22).
[17] Global Refugee Forum. (2019). Retrieved March 1, 2019, from UNHCR USA website: https://www.unhcr.org/global-refugee-forum.html
[18] "Global Refugee Forum," 2019.
[19] UNHCR. (2019). *2019 Global Refugee Forum Background Note for the First Preparatory Meeting* (p. 5). Geneva.
[20] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani*, 2019.

contributions from a variety of stakeholders that can be seen as "mini compacts" around which other stakeholders can model future pledges.[21]

Refugee Participation Ahead of the GRF

UNHCR, NGOs, and refugee-led networks are working to ensure that refugees are included as much as possible in the GRF planning. There have been some positive steps taken so far that should be noted. However, some actors are still wary that refugee participation at the Forum will be tokenistic and have pointed to past efforts taken by the UN under the guise of including refugees meaningfully as a cause for concern or skepticism.

UNHCR has planned a schedule of preparatory meetings where stakeholders will convene to discuss the Forum's planning, and in particular, the pledging process. The first meeting was held on March 29th. The second is slated for June 25th and the third on November 14th. All of these preparatory meetings will be held in Geneva. The first meeting was open to all UN Member States and UN non-member observer States. Particular intergovernmental organizations, NGOs, and other stakeholders were also invited, and the meeting was not broadcast publicly. Although there were not formal rules of procedure during this meeting, participants were asked to limit their contributions to three minutes or less, or if speaking on behalf of a group or region, to five minutes or less. This included representatives from refugee groups as well.[22]

One of the most influential actors pushing for refugee engagement at the GRF is the Global Refugee-Led Network[23] (formerly called the Network for Refugee Voices). The network is a consortia of refugee networks in six regions across the world--Middle East North Africa (MENA), South America, North America, Africa, Asia Pacific, and Europe. Their goal is to "connect the global to the local"[24]--in other words, ensure that the decisions made at Geneva-level discussions are communicated to refugees on the ground, and refugees' input is filtered back to Geneva. Three

[21] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani*, 2019.
[22] *Toward the First GRF: Organizational Note.* UNHCR, 2019.
[23] Network For Refugee Voices. (n.d.). Retrieved May 13, 2019, from Network for Refugee Voices website: networkforrefugeevoices.
[24] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Skype]. (2019, April 25).

representatives from each region form a steering committee for the network.[25] With support from NGO and government partners, the network has begun hosting regional refugee summits with the hope that the outcomes of these summits can contribute to the GCR implementation discussions at GRF.

The network has been instrumental in organizing refugee feedback on how to engage refugees meaningfully at the GRF. It has contributed statements to the GRF preparatory meeting that has already taken place, and it is organizing a side event during the next preparatory meeting to discuss refugee participation and self-representation.[26] UNHCR is actively supporting this work through technical and financial contributions.[27] The network also organized the 2018 Refugee Congress which contributed input from refugees to the GCR negotiations[28] and convened the 2018 Global Summit of Refugees[29] which engaged refugee stakeholders around the globe both in Geneva and via online platforms.[30]

The UN has also taken steps to include refugees in Geneva-level processes as well. For example, the 2019 Draft Agenda for UNHCR Annual Consultations with Non-Governmental Organizations has designated an entire day of the three-day meeting to discuss the GRF. On this day, there will be one hour-long session devoted to "Participation of refugees and persons of concern"[31] in the pledge model that is being used at the GRF. Notably though, this session is one of three events occurring at the same time, and only comprises one hour of a 3-day conference.

Additionally, UNHCR has taken steps to engage with NGOs who include refugee-led organizations. According to the recently-released concept note on the 2019 UNHCR Annual Consultations with NGOs, one of the meeting's themes is "Regionalisation." UNHCR notes that they

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[25] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.
[26] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.
[27] S. Madhuri Kannan, personal communication, May 17, 2019.
[28] *Interview with Robert Hakiza* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Skype]. (2019, April 30).
[29] Building a New International Movement for Refugee-Led Advocacy. (2018). Retrieved May 1, 2019, from Network for Refugee Voices website: http://www.networkforrefugeevoices.org/global-summit-of-refugees.html
[30] *Interview with Robert Hakiza*, 2019.
[31] *2019 Draft Agenda*. (2019, April). UNHCR.

believe that "a UNHCR closer to the field and more accessible to its NGO partners is welcome, especially for local and national NGOs not present in Geneva."[32] Notably though, there is no mention of prioritizing refugee-led NGOs or facilitating their engagement through capacity-building exercises, resource allocation, or other strategies.

In line with efforts at making processes more accessible to a wider variety of stakeholders, UNHCR has organized two regional NGO consultations to take place ahead of the Geneva-based meeting. One will take place in Johannesburg, South Africa, and the other in Amman, Jordan. According to an anonymous NGO policy expert and Mark Yarnell of Refugees International, these regional meetings are purportedly a step that the UNHCR is taking in hopes of engaging more directly with refugee-led NGOs regarding planning for the GRF.[33]

NGOs, especially those led by refugees, have taken steps to facilitate refugee participation in UNHCR processes aside from the Refugee-Led Global Network. In particular, the Refugee Council of Australia (RCOA) has been a leader in bringing refugees into the room of policy discussions. In the past 11 years RCOA has brought 31 refugee delegates to UNHCR NGO Consultations and helped facilitate their participation in high level meetings. RCOA also has supported the Refugee-Led Global Network's organizing efforts.[34] Other examples of organizations collaborating with refugees to ensure their participation at national and international meetings include Plan International's delegation of refugee youth attending UN NGO Consultations[35], UNHCR-USA's Refugee Congress engaging in national-level advocacy,[36] UNHCR's Global Youth Advisory Council who participated in the 2016 High Commissioner's Dialogue on Children on the Move[37], and the Aspen Institute

[32] UNHCR. (2019). *2019 UNHCR Annual Consultations with NGOs "Working together, better" Concept Note*. Geneva.
[33] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.; Yarnell, M. (2019, April 5). *UNHCR-NGO 2019 Annual Consultations*.
[34] Power, P. (2017, November). *Strengthening the role of refugee communities in policy development*. Speech presented at the Refugee Council of Australia. Retrieved from https://www.refugeecouncil.org.au/strengthening-role-refugee-communities/
[35] *Interview with Johannes Berndt* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Skype]. (2019, April 25).
[36] *Interview with Tina Hinh* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Telephone]. (2019, April 4).
[37] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani*, 2019.

featuring refugee leader Robert Hakiza as a New Voices Fellow,[38] enabling him to publish his thoughts on refugee-related policy more widely.

While the aforementioned steps are a welcome development, previous initiatives to incorporate the meaningful participation of refugees have been problematic, leaving some to remain cautious about how refugee engagement at the GRF will come to pass. Many actors described past attempts at facilitating refugee participation at Geneva-based meetings as "tokenistic"[39] or simply "ticking boxes"[40] without actually engaging with refugee participants and their knowledge.

Methodology

Tackling how to facilitate meaningful participation of refugees in the implementation of the GCR and, more narrowly, at the 2019 GRF is a lofty undertaking. The Compact and the Forum necessitate engagement with a wide variety of actors who sometimes have divergent views. Additionally, defining "meaningful participation" and who qualifies as a "refugee" in this context are both unclear, with different stakeholders defining them in competing ways.

In order to understand the variety of perspectives, to more clearly define the terms in question, and to ascertain the principles and practices that should underpin any participatory process, I undertook data collection from a number of sources. I conducted eighteen interviews with experts and stakeholders of the GCR and GRF including members of UNHCR's GRF Coordination Team, NGO staff from headquarters and the field, academic experts, and leaders of and advisors to refugee-led networks. I also gathered scholarship on a number of pertinent areas related to participatory processes including stakeholder engagement, participation and inclusion, representation, feedback loops, networks, mapping, and power. In addition to academic literature, I

[38] *Interview with Robert Hakiza*, 2019.
[39] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019, 2019.; *Interview with Linda Bartolomei* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Telephone]. (2019, April 30).; *Interview with Tina Hinh*, 2019; *Interview with Elizabeth Ferris* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Telephone]. (2019, March 28).
[40] *Interview with Anonymous Former Humanitarian Field Worker* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Telephone]. (2019, April 8).

surveyed grey literature, in particular reports from NGOs, refugee-led organizations, and the UN. I collected information on models of refugee participation to understand what has been successful in practice and in what contexts. All of these sources inform the recommendations offered at the end of this paper.

Stakeholder Engagement and Participatory Processes: Definitions and Principles

The literature on stakeholder engagement and participatory process is vast. An exhaustive review of all literature is not the purpose of this paper. Instead, using some already-existing literature reviews, guides to participation and stakeholder engagement, and insights from experts on engagement with refugee stakeholders, I lay out key concepts and terms that UNHCR should be aware of when designing participation processes. In particular, I discuss the ways we can think about stakeholders and participation and the decisions that must be made when setting up stakeholder engagement mechanisms.

Defining Stakeholders

Before designing a participatory process, it is necessary to define who the stakeholders are that should be participating. The term "stakeholder" can encompass a wide variety of meanings. Previously suggested definitions include "'all parties who will be affected by or will affect [the organization's] strategy,'" '"any person, group, or organization that can place a claim on the organization's attention, resources, or output, or is affected by that output,'" and "'those individuals or groups who depend on the organization to fulfill their own goals and on whom, in turn, the organization depends.'"[41] Operating under a common understanding around who should be engaged, why their engagement is necessary, and when to engage them is key to structuring a participatory process. In other words, "the appropriate stakeholders should be involved in the appropriate ways."[42] Organizers of participatory processes must answer key questions to

[41] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 22.
[42] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 27.

determine which stakeholders are the "right" stakeholders. These might include: what networks or groups are already representing portions of a community, and who is left out?[43] Do all stakeholders need to be engaged during the whole process, or is it useful for different stakeholders to participate at different times?[44] While a number of theories regarding stakeholders exist, descriptive stakeholder theory, particularly as it is applied to standardized ethics initiatives, is most useful here.

Descriptive Theory of Stakeholder Engagement

Drik U. Gilbert and Andreas Rasche provide a useful description of descriptive stakeholder theory. It is premised on the idea that "serving the interests of those groups and individuals identified as 'stakeholders' is the primary purpose of an organization."[45] They use the descriptive lens to examine stakeholder involvement in standardized ethics initiatives. A standardized ethics initiative is when broad, high level principles are agreed upon and then used to inform policies in different local contexts. The GCR and its implementation process is a prime example of a standardized ethics initiative, with the "ethics" being the objectives in the GCR.

Descriptive stakeholder theory is, as its name suggests, descriptive. This theory "explains *how organizations actually take into account stakeholder interests*."[46] It offers many suggested models to engage stakeholders including interviews, focus groups, and committees. This theory also encourages practitioners to consider the modes of communication that are most appropriate to use when engaging with different types of stakeholders.[47]

Using a descriptive theory lens through which to approach designing mechanisms for refugee engagement at the GRF offers guidance on what problems may arise and what opportunities may be taken advantage of through the engagement process. Gilbert and Rasche

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[43] Head, B. W. (2007). Community Engagement: Participation on Whose Terms? *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *42*(3), 441–454. https://doi.org/10.1080/10361140701513570. p. 442.
[44] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 27.
[45] Gilbert, D. U., & Rasche, A. (2008). Opportunities and Problems of Standardized Ethics Initiatives – a Stakeholder Theory Perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *82*(3), 755–773. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-007-9591-1. p. 760.
[46] Gilbert & Rasche, 2008. p. 761.
[47] Gilbert & Rasche, 2008. p. 762.

argue that including stakeholders in designing and implementing a standardized ethics initiative "enables managers to learn about the needs and claims of their constituencies" and "is of the utmost importance to modifying the general macro-level norms of a standard with regard to the local context…"[48] While Gilbert and Rasche are speaking about the private sector here, the opportunity for stakeholder engagement through the translation of macro-ethics to local contexts still holds. In the case of the GRF, the "managers" would be UNHCR. The "constituencies" would be the refugee and host communities who make up the sites of implementation.

Descriptive theory also highlights the decisions that need to be made when actualizing a stakeholder engagement strategy and flag some of the challenges that UNHCR and others will likely run into. Descriptive stakeholder theory points out that three main questions must be attended to: who are the relevant stakeholders and are their claims legitimate? How should they be communicated with? How do you organize them democratically?[49] These questions are consistent with those flagged by other scholars[50] as well.

Conveners must also pay attention to the structures used to organize engagement and what limits said structures may place on stakeholders. For instance, who is defining which stakeholders are "legitimate" and what is the criteria for this legitimacy? What languages are needed for different stakeholders to participate, and if interpreters are unavailable, how does this limit the quality of engagement?[51] These questions intersect with concepts of power that I will return to later.

Stakeholder Analysis

Conducting a stakeholder analysis is a useful way to identify who the stakeholders are, the reason they should be engaged and when, and how they are related to the policy context. A number of tools exist to facilitate a stakeholder analysis. John M. Bryson lays out stakeholder analysis

[48] Gilbert & Rasche, 2008. p. 763.
[49] Gilbert & Rasche, 2008. p. 763.
[50] Head, 2007; Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013.
[51] Gilbert and Rasche, 2008 p. 763.

methods clearly and succinctly.[52] Tools include "the basic stakeholder analysis technique,"[53] "power versus interest grids,"[54] "stakeholder influence diagrams,"[55] and "participation planning matrix."[56]

Another type of tool that is useful in determining who key stakeholders are and where they are is mapping. Mapping involves identifying stakeholders, including networks,, government entities, and informal collectives that exist within particular geographic boundaries.[57] It may also be useful to organize the stakeholders by sector, relationship with one another, type, or level of power and influence. In this way, stakeholder analysis and mapping tools are complementary.

Reconceptualizing Our Vision of Stakeholders

Once stakeholders are identified, facilitators of participatory processes should reflect on their perception of those on the receiving end of policies. Often designated under terms like "client," "recipient," or "beneficiary," these stakeholders are frequently relegated to passive roles or no role at all in the policy design process. They are viewed as passive receivers of a policy instead of as equal partners in policy development. In order for those seeking *meaningful participation* of stakeholders to design mechanisms for engagement, it is critical that they conceptualize policy "beneficiaries" as valuable equals in the policy conversation.

Scholars offer ways to reconceptualize beneficiary stakeholders and collaboration with them. Some suggest that conveners of participatory processes can "reconceptualize members of the public as *partners*"[58] as opposed to consumers of policy. They note that all involved in the participation process can "coalesc[e] as 'co-learners'"[59] in lieu of being separated as providers and recipients of policies. In humanitarian spaces, stakeholders should be seen "as social actors with

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[52] Bryson, J. M. (2004). What to do when Stakeholders matter: Stakeholder Identification and Analysis Techniques. *Public Management Review*, *6*(1), 21–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/14719030410001675722.
[53] Bryson, 2004. p. 29-30.
[54] Bryson, 2004. p. 30-31.
[55] Bryson, 2004. p. 31-32.
[56] Bryson, 2004. p. 32.
[57] White, P. (1994). Developing a participatory approach to involve crisis-affected people in a humanitarian response. In *Participation Handbook for Humanitarian Field Workers: Involving Crisis-Affected People in Humanitarian Response* (pp. 24–39). p. 117.
[58] Quick, K. S., & Feldman, M. S. (2011). Distinguishing Participation and Inclusion. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *31*(3), 272–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739456X11410979, p. 273. Emphasis mine.
[59] Quick & Feldman, 2011. p. 273.

skills, energy, ideas, and insight into their own situation...agents of the humanitarian response rather than passive recipients."[60]

Defining "Participation"

The term "participation" can encompass a broad array of meanings. Additionally, any process that seeks to engage stakeholders in participation should not only define who those stakeholders are, but also clearly agree upon why their participation is necessary. Facilitators should consider how a participation process will "fit the general and specific context"...includ[ing] broad social, demographic, political, technological, physical, and other features and trends."[61] By defining these parameters, facilitators can seek out modalities of participation that are appropriate, feasible, and useful for the context.

In order to determine what type of participatory process is appropriate, it is critical to "clarify and regularly revisit the purposes and desired outcomes of the participation process and design and redesign it accordingly."[62] In the same way that the appropriate stakeholders may change throughout a process, so can participation types and modalities. Bryson and others have designed a useful chart to help those facilitating participatory processes determine what design considerations should be taken into account based on the purposes of that participatory process.[63] For example, participatory processes may be used due to legal requirements, to advance social justice, or inform the public, amongst other reasons. These differing purposes necessitate different design considerations.

Inclusive Participation

Participation is not something that can be turned "on" or "off." There are varying levels of participation that scholars have conceptualized in a variety of ways. Distinguishing between a process that is participatory alone and a process that is inclusively participatory is key in

[60] White, 1994. p. 25.
[61] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 24-25.
[62] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 26.
[63] See Annex Figure 1

conceptualizing levels of participation. Although terms like "inclusion" or "participation" are often used interchangeably, it is useful to define them and examine the way they can interact to elevate stakeholder engagement opportunities. This distinction is especially useful in its explanation by Kathryn S. Quick and Martha S. Feldman. According to these scholars, "inclusion and participation are two different dimensions of public engagement"[64] and that including both elements in stakeholder engagement processes is ideal. Processes that are "participatory" are typically "oriented to *increasing input* for decisions...encompass inviting many people to participation, making the process broadly accessible to and representative of the public at large, and collecting community input and using it to influence policy decisions."[65] In sum, participatory processes place a premium on the amount of input they gather and the number of stakeholders that they reach. Participation is seen as a means to the end of "enrich[ing] the input"[66] toward developing a policy decision.

Inclusion, on the other hand, goes further than data gathering for decision-making's sake. A participatory process that is inclusive "builds the capacity of the community to implement the decisions and tackle related issues"[67] of the policy problem at hand. Thus, the purpose of adding inclusivity into a participation process is not only gather data, but also to "mak[e] connections among people, across issues, and over time. It is an expansive and ongoing framework for interaction that...intentionally create[s] a community engaged in an ongoing stream of issues."[68]

Typologies of Participation

There are a wide variety of typologies of participation found in the literature. There are some models that will prove particularly relevant to the GRF process. As such, I will provide brief overviews of those here, however this list is not meant to be exhaustive.

[64] Quick & Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[65] Quick and Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[66]Quick and Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[67] Quick and Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[68] Quick and Feldman, 2011. p. 274.

Participation processes can be direct or indirect. Direct participation involves stakeholders "participating as individuals in the various phases"[69] of the process. Examples of direct participation include when individuals participate in focus groups, take polls, or attend meetings to contribute their own ideas. Direct participation is useful when the process would benefit from many ideas and building a consensus. However, direct participation can be challenging to facilitate depending on the size of the stakeholder group.

Indirect participation can be thought of as "participation by representation."[70] This type of participation engages "structures that represent the affected population"[71] to provide input in lieu of gathering individual opinions. For example, when refugee-led organizations send delegates to meetings to speak on behalf of their group, this is an example of indirect participation. This type of participation is useful when there are too many individual stakeholders to feasibly engage in the participatory process. However, indirect participation can also exclude more vulnerable groups within the broader stakeholder group. For example, organizations may not adequately represent people with disabilities, the elderly, or youth. When groups have different needs, experiences, or opinions than the organization represents, their input is left out[72].

Participatory processes can also be top-down or bottom-up in their design. Top-down approaches see the purpose of participation as the outcome rather than the process itself. Because of this outcomes-focus, top-down participation "seek[s] to strengthen project implementation by using local knowledge and resources, often including collaboration with community leaders and higher level institutions, which then implement the intervention at a local level."[73] This type of approach is related to indirect participation[74] in the necessity of high level institutions as conveners and community leaders as providing input assumed to be representative of their community. The

[69] White, 1994. p. 33.
[70] White, 1994. p. 34.
[71] White, 1994. p. 34.
[72] Strolovitch, D. Z. (2007). Introduction. In *Affirmative advocacy: race, class, and gender in interest group politics* (pp. 1–14). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 8.
[73] Sherman & Ford, 2014. p. 419.
[74] White, 1994.

main critique leveled at top-down approaches is their lack of attention to micro contexts resulting in "irrelevant and/or inappropriate interventions."[75]

Bottom-up participation emphasizes community-based approaches. In this model, "community-based institutions and local people carry out the design and implementation of a project, often with empowerment and capacity building as key objectives."[76] This type of participation is closely linked to inclusive participation,[77] where building community capacity is equally as important, if not more important, than the policy outputs. The main critique of bottom-up approaches is that in designing them for local contexts, their resulting policies are not easily replicated.[78]

Levels of Participation

Participation can exist at varying levels of robustness.[79] Barriers might exist that inhibit groups or people from participating in one context or another. Participatory processes can grant decision-making power to participants, or can involve participants offering input but with little or no decision-making power. Sherry R. Arnstein captured these variations in her "Ladder of Citizen Participation."[80] As one moves up the ladder, opportunities for stakeholders to gain more power and control over decision-making increase. Arnstein proposes a ladder with eight rungs, or levels, of participation. The bottom two rungs are "manipulation" and "therapy" and constitute "levels of non-participation that have been contrived by some to substitute for genuine participation."[81] The next two rungs are "informing" and "consultation" which describe participation where participants "lack the power to insure that their views will be *heeded* by the powerful. When participation is restricted to these levels, there is no follow through."[82] The levels increase as stakeholder power

[75] Sherman & Ford, 2014. p. 419.
[76] Sherman & Ford, 2014. p. 419.
[77] Quick & Feldman, 2011.
[78] Sherman & Ford, 2014. p. 419.
[79] Head, 2007. p. 444.
[80] Arnstein, S. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 216–224. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225. p. 217.; See Annex Figure 2
[81] Arnstein, 1969. p. 217.
[82] Arnstein, 1969. p. 217.

increases with the final rung described as "citizen control" where "have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats."[83] Arnstein highlights the importance of power, follow through, and decision-making as aspects of participation that determine what level of the ladder a process reaches.

The International Association for Public Participation also created a tool to visualize levels of participation. Their tool is called "iap2 public participation spectrum" and includes five levels of participation. In this case, a participatory process moves to the right on the spectrum as the "level of public impact"[84] increases. What is also useful about iap2's tool is that each level corresponds not only with a descriptive goal of the participation process, but also the promises that are made to stakeholders in that level and example tools to actionize the participation. Similar to Arnstein's ladder, the iap2 spectrum links increased levels of participation with participant power over decision making. The final level "empower" is when the process "place[s] the final decision-making in the hands of the public."[85]

Power

As is demonstrated by the emphasis on participants' abilities to directly impact decision-making processes, power is a key aspect of participatory processes. It should be acknowledged that any organization will have inherent "dynamics of hierarchies and risks 'speaking for' refugees"[86] instead of meaningfully including them at all levels of the organizational structure. Conducting a stakeholder analysis is a good first step in visualizing the power dynamics in a system that might impact a participatory process. This analysis can show that in some cases "stakeholders with power to act may, at points in time, have little or no interest in exercising their influence, whilst those with

[83] Arnstein, 1969. p. 217.
[84] International Association for Public Participation. (n.d.). *iap2 public participation spectrum*. Australia.; See Annex Figure 3
[85] International Association for Public Participation, n.d.
[86] Jones, W. (2019). *Refugee Voices* (No. 8; pp. 1–14). Ottawa, Canada: World Refugee Council. p. 8.

high levels of interest may lack power to influence events."[87] Bryson's "Power vs. Interest" grid is an apt tool to use to determine where this may be the case[88].

There are several ways that powerful actors can either reinforce or make more equitable the power between them and other stakeholders.[89] For example, including stakeholders in the shaping of the agenda for a participatory process is a way to smooth out power inequities. Facilitators "deciding what is on the table for discussion is...an inherently powerful move that frequently places [stakeholder] groups at a disadvantage, as they are more likely to be reactive rather than proactive relative to the agenda for the participation process."[90] So, by opening up agenda-setting to stakeholders balances out the power dynamics from the start. Further, when stakeholders are able to influence the agenda, they might be able to identify the areas that truly need attention based on their local knowledge or lived experiences. In a participatory process organized with the Somali refugee community in Minneapolis, Minnesota, planners found that by giving over agenda-setting power to Somali community leaders, the process became more effective and useful for both the planners and the Somali stakeholders.[91] Another successful example of power-sharing across stakeholders can be seen in the development of CIREFCA (the International Conference on Refugees in Central America) that occurred between 1987 through 1995. In this instance, "Colombian refugees were involved, giving testimony and consulting in the deliberative fora ahead of time."[92]

Facilitators should also be mindful of the way norms, procedures, and language can reinforce inequitable power dynamics and make participation less accessible. As Bryson and his colleagues note, "subtle power codes--such as the kinds of information and styles of expression that

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[87] Cairns, G., Ahmed, I., Mullett, J., & Wright, G. (2013). Scenario method and stakeholder engagement: Critical reflections on a climate change scenarios case study. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, *80*(1), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2012.08.005. p. 3.
[88] See Annex Figure 4
[89] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 29.
[90] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 29.
[91] Allen, R., & Schively Slotterback, C. (2017). Building immigrant engagement practice in urban planning: The case of Somali refugees in the Twin Cities. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2017.1360745. p. 11.
[92] Jones, 2019. p. 7-8.

are considered relevant and appropriate--shape who participates in the process and how their input is received."[93]

Institutions can contribute to smoothing over power relations by ensuring that there is a mechanism in place for participants to offer feedback about the process, as well as ensuring follow up by the institution. The act of "listening to and responding to feedback"[94] by the institution contributes to a process that is accountable and transparent, two key aspects of more equitable power relations. This is also discussed further in the "Feedback Loops" section.

Finally, perhaps the most significant way that power can be shared across participatory processes is by ensuring that all stakeholders, including policy "recipients" can have a substantive bearing on the process's outcomes. Participatory processes ideally offer recipient stakeholders "opportunities for meaningful participation, exchange, and *influence on decision outcomes*."[95] As is demonstrated on the highest rung of Arnstein's Ladder of Participation, "having the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial-power"[96] is equated with the most robust form of participation. However, when political or other dynamics prohibit recipient stakeholders from enjoying full decision-making power, facilitators can at least work to ensure that input provided by them is, at minimum, able to "influence policy decisions."[97] Additionally, facilitators should also explain to stakeholders "how their participation will influence outcomes"[98] and make clear the level of decision-making power they have prior to the process starting.

Trust and Transparency

Responding to power differentials head on can contribute to building another important element of participatory process--trust. Indeed, "trust is both a lubricant and a glue"[99] in participatory processes. Trust between facilitators and participants is critical for a number of

[93] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 29.
[94] Feedback Labs. (n.d.). *Feedback 101* (pp. 1–27). p. 21.
[95] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 29. Emphasis mine.
[96] Arnstein, 1969. p. 217.
[97] Quick & Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[98] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 27.
[99] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 29.

reasons. Without trust in the conveners, stakeholders may be less inclined to actively engage in the participation process at all, or may be tentative in revealing their honest critiques of other stakeholders' actions or policies.[100]

It is known that for some stakeholders, engagement of any kind carries with it risks related to their "social, economic, cultural, and political environment."[101] Stakeholders must trust that they will be kept safe, not risk losing services, or be targeted for retaliation by facilitators or other stakeholders when participating in policy processes or offering feedback. Participants must trust that facilitators are taking precautions to protect their safety as much as possible, and that they will not face retribution from more powerful actors if they offer constructive critique or negative feedback about them.[102] If this trust is not fostered, then stakeholders will "have powerful incentives to misrepresent information about themselves if they fear that they will be ultimately punished for telling the truth."[103] This might negatively impact data collection efforts or lead policy decision-makers to make decisions based on inaccurate information.

Adhering to the principle of transparency during the preparation, decision-making, implementation, and follow-up of policy processes is key if policymakers want to maintain a trustful relationship with stakeholders. Facilitators should strive toward transparency in every step of a process, starting with widely advertising opportunities for participation. It is important that "members of the affected community know"[104] that opportunities for participation in policy discussions exist and "know how to access [them]."[105] As mentioned earlier, being clear about what level of influence stakeholders will be able to have on policy decisions and outcomes is one way to make the process more transparent. Conveners of a participation process should also be explicit

[100] Jones, 2019 p. 3.
[101] Sherman & Ford, 2014. p. 430.
[102] Accountability to disaster-affected populations. (2013). *Forced Migration Review*, *35*, 50–52. p. 51.
[103] Jones, 2019. p. 3.
[104] Inter-Agency Standing Committee. (2016). *Best Practice Guide Inter-Agency Community-Based Complaint Mechanisms* (pp. 1–120) [Guideline: Protection against Sexual Exploitation and Abuse]. p. 29.
[105] Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2016. p. 29.

about anticipated costs for participation in policy processes and potential costs for implementing policy solutions.[106]

Feedback Loops

Ensuring that participants receive follow-up about how their input was used, as well as keeping lines of communication open so stakeholders can provide updates on policy implementation are key to advancing transparency and success in a policy process. Indeed, because stakeholders on the ground are the ones who will be experiencing policy implementation as it happens, their "regular input and feedback...is vital to better measure performance and results"[107] Feedback Labs, an organization specializing in implementing feedback loops in humanitarian spaces, points to the significance of feedback in "driv[ing] better outcomes in politics, education, health, and community infrastructure"[108]. Additionally, keeping these lines of communication open regarding the efficacy or areas for improvement of a policy "improves the relationship between humanitarian responders and the community."[109]

Representational Participation

As was discussed in the "Stakeholders" section, it is critical to determine who your stakeholders are that should participate in a participatory process. However, in most participatory processes, not every person can be in the room during policy discussions. Thus, designers of participatory processes must consider who participates and whether they are representative of the larger constituent group.[110] It will never be possible to collect a group of stakeholders that is perfectly representative of a larger group because each individual will have slightly different experiences and interpretations of experiences. However, striving for a closely representative group of stakeholders to be in the room during policy discussions is still a worthwhile pursuit. In

[106] Gilbert & Rasche, 2008. p. 768.
[107] CDAC Network. (2019). *Collective Communication and Community Engagement in Humanitarian Action* (pp. 1–76). p. 32.
[108] Feedback Labs, n.d. p. 10.
[109] CDAC Network, 2019. p. 32.
[110] White, 1994. p. 32.

other words, "the need for broad and representative participation must be balanced by the practicalities of working with a large group of people."[111] Practitioners should be careful not to fall into a "'tokenistic' approach to the participation of the most marginalized people."[112] For example, having one refugee representative that is a woman does not inherently satisfy the need for diverse gender perspectives.

An important step in gaging what representation is necessary amongst the group of stakeholders participating directly in policy processes is to conduct a stakeholder analysis that investigates relationships of power and their impact on the participatory process.[113] This process was discussed previously in the "Stakeholder Analysis" and "Power" sections. Another way to respond to the limits of representative participation is to consider other modalities through which stakeholders can participate. Offering alternatives that, although not direct participation, can collect input from a wider breadth of stakeholders is better than lacking that input altogether.

It is especially important to attend to the representation of more marginalized groups. While it is useful to engage with already established networks, facilitators should be aware that there may be hierarchies within these networks themselves. Scholars suggest that engaging with one group as if it is homogenous smooths over differences that exist within any group. In order to understand these dynamics, facilitators must investigate not only the issues claimed by community leaders, but also "disadvantaged-subgroup issues."[114] For instance, when urban planners in Minneapolis engaged with a single migrant civil society organization to organize a participatory process, they may have inadvertently ostracized less powerful clan groups that the migrant civil society organization did not represent.[115] Others with unique needs and perspectives such as those

[111] White, 1994. p. 33.
[112] White, 1994. p. 33.
[113] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 29.
[114] Strolovitch, D. Z. (2007). In *Affirmative advocacy: race, class, and gender in interest group politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 7.
[115] Allen & Schively Slotterback, 2017. p. 11.

from the LGBTQ+ community, children, or people with disabilities may also be less likely to be represented by community groups or leaders at the top of a local hierarchy.

There are some ways that facilitators can take steps beyond conducting a stakeholder analysis and implementing a multi-modality approach to increase representativeness of those stakeholders directly participating in policy discussions. For example, facilitators seeking representative participation must ensure that their strategies "involve better outreach and [are] optimizing accessibility of the process so that inputs can be more diverse."[116] This might include diversifying advertising methods, communication channels, or language used. It also could include reevaluating the time, dates, or location of a participatory process, or offering multiple opportunities for direct participation across different temporal or geographic spaces.[117]

Community Capacity

A final consideration for designing a participatory process that is both useful and meaningful for those participating in it is to ensure that all stakeholders have the necessary knowledge about the process to engage.

Building up the capacity of groups new to formal policy processes is not only in the best interest of stakeholders, but also for the policy process as a whole. Building new stakeholder capacity to engage in policy discussions "is necessary to improve the effectiveness of the processes, identifying and improving the informational and skills gaps of the 'weaker' participants, thus enabling them to contribute more effectively to broader processes of discussion and deliberation."[118]

It is important to recognize that building new stakeholder capacity is an emergent, iterative process that occurs during the participatory process itself. Trainings and capacity building prior to policy discussions are critical, but so is recognizing that engaging in the process is also a chance for

[116] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 29.
[117] Quick & Feldman, 2011. p. 285.
[118] Head, 2007. p. 450.

learning. Scholars have found that as stakeholders participate in a policy process and are able to implement the skills and knowledge that they have learned, they gain confidence, and are more likely to continue that engagement.[119] Building capacity of new participants also improves those groups' ability to provide feedback on the policies' efficacy over time. Indeed, "feedback activities succeed most when they build the capacity of feedback providers to participate and communicate their opinions. Creating spaces for primary constituent participation strengthens capacity for feedback."[120] Although building the capacity of new stakeholders to engage in policy-level processes will require time and resources, it is necessary for participation to be truly meaningful, and will serve to improve contributions and follow-up processes in the long term.

Barriers to Meaningful Refugee Participation

Although the previously described steps are good progress towards meaningful participation of refugees at the GRF, there remains a gap between a fully-realized, meaningful participatory process for refugees and the current reality. A participation process with the features that allow it to be truly meaningful has been impeded in large part because of the numerous logistical, institutional, political, and financial barriers at play. Conversations with NGOs (including refugee-led groups), UNHCR representatives, and academics, along with reports from many of these actors paint a complex picture of the difficulties actors face in designing and implementing a robust participatory process.

Logistical Barriers

Perhaps the most straightforward barriers to meaningful refugee participation are logistical ones. The GRF will be held in Geneva at the Centre International de Conférences Genève (CICG).[121] This space is larger than the Palais des Nations, where the GRF was originally to be held, as UNHCR

[119] van der Velde, J., Williamson, D. L., & Ogilvie, L. (2009). Participatory Action Research: Practical Strategies for Actively Engaging and Maintaining Participation in Immigrant and Refugee Communities. *QUALITATIVE HEALTH RESEARCH*, *19*(9), 1293–1302. https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732309344207. p. 1300.
[120] Bonbright, Campbell, & Nguyen, 2009. p. 16.
[121] Madhuri Kannan, S. (2019, May 17). *Refugee Participation at the GRF*.

shifted to a bigger space to support more stakeholder participation at the GRF.[122] With roughly 628 people[123] making up the Member State delegations and UN officials alone though, space will always be a limiting factor on the number of stakeholders who can participate in the Forum at one time.

Language also poses a challenge to robust refugee participation at the GRF.[124] Typically, high level UN meetings are conducted in English and French.[125] However, many refugees do not speak either of those languages. This necessitates the use of interpreters, which is further complicated by the limited space. Notably though, at the GRF the UNHCR is intentionally using six languages in order to facilitate the broader inclusion of stakeholders during the Forum, and specifically refugees.[126]

The fact that the GRF is hosted in Geneva is a logistical barrier for many refugees, too. While the move toward regionalization and the inclusion of two regional-level meetings ahead of the UNHCR NGO Consultations is a welcome step, high level meetings held mostly in Geneva are inaccessible still. Refugees and refugee-led organizations must measure the immense cost[127] of travelling to Geneva with the level of influence and active engagement they will realistically have when at a large UNHCR meeting. Additionally, without clarity on whether they will receive follow-up on how their input influenced the final decisions, it may not appear worth the challenge that travelling to Geneva entails.[128] Furthermore, many of the refugee-led NGOs do not have offices based in Geneva. This further inhibits their ability to fully engage at high-level meetings such as the GRF because of the amount of networking and preparation that goes on in Geneva outside of the Forum itself.[129]

Travelling outside of their current country of residence may prove impossible for some

[122] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani*, 2019.
[123] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani*, 2019.
[124] Asia Pacific Summit of Refugees (APSOR), 2018.
[125] Towards the First GRF: Organizational Note, UNHCR, 2019.
[126] S. Madhuri Kannan, personal communication, May 17, 2019.
[127] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.
[128] *Interview with Enzo Tabaut-Cruz* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Skype]. (2019, March 20).
[129] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.

refugees. For those without permanent legal status, Switzerland may not approve their travel visa for fear that the country they currently reside in will not permit them to return after the Forum.[130] Even if the UN campaigns on their behalf, there have still been cases where refugees hoping to travel to Geneva for a UN event have not been approved for travel by the Swiss government.[131]

Financial Barriers

As mentioned above, the costs associated with traveling to Geneva for policy meetings precludes many refugees and refugee-led groups from direct participation.[132] When refugees cannot pay to attend high level meetings, it frequently falls to NGOs to provide financial assistance in part or whole.[133] Even when there are funds distributed to organizations, oftentimes funding goes toward larger, more established NGOs, leaving smaller, grassroots, refugee-led organizations with little access to financial support to travel.[134]

In some ways, the funding structure around NGO work also places financial hardships on those organizations who would otherwise be interested in bringing refugees with their delegations to Geneva meetings. A former humanitarian field worker and current policy expert noted the difficulties that come with receiving funds from donors. Restrictions on timeline, reporting, and other contractual obligations attached to certain funds shift program managers' focus away from time spent facilitating refugee participation.[135] Despite these challenges however, some organizations have found ways to incorporate refugee travel into their mission. For instance, the Australian Refugee Council has a specific fund to provide travel scholarships for refugees to attend high level meetings.[136]

Political Barriers

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[130] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.; *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.
[131] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.
[132] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.; *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.; *Interview with Enzo Tabaut-Cruz*, 2019.
[133] *ICVA and UNHCR Meeting* [Web Meeting]. (2019). Geneva.
[134] Asia Pacific Summit of Refugees (APSOR), 2018, p 5.; APSOR. (2019). *Asia Pacific Summit of Refugees (APSOR) Outcomes Report* (pp. 1–17). Bangkok, Thailand. p. 9.
[135] *Interview with Anonymous Former Humanitarian Field Worker*, 2019.
[136] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.

Member States will play a significant role at the GRF. This can complicate efforts to include refugees directly. Some have suggested that member states reserve a space on their delegation (made up of five slots) for a refugee to attend. One NGO offered this suggestion during GRF preparatory meetings, but received significant pushback. States are hesitant to give up one of their few spots to a representative that is not a citizen of their state. For some member states, delegates are required to have citizenship in that state.[137] So, those without permanent status would be precluded. Additionally, some states are more inclusive and welcoming of refugees, while others are resistant to show signals that they may be moving in this direction. It is not unlikely that the ladder Member States would resist inclusion of a refugee on their delegation.

Other scholars and advocates have suggested that a refugee delegation independent of any state affiliation would be welcomed at the GRF.[138] However, there have been questions about how such a delegation could be representative[139] of the entirety of the world's diverse refugee population. Additionally, some states are simply "adverse to refugee participation"[140] at Geneva-level meetings at all, further complicating the feasibility of a refugee-only delegation.

Institutional Barriers

UN ministerial-level Forums like the GRF are highly formalized and structured, which can be a barrier to inclusion when refugees are not experienced with these processes. In addition, the UN comes with its own jargon and any new actors at policy-level meetings will need to learn to "speak the language."[141] When Plan International's Johannes Berndt brought a small group of refugee youth to the UNHCR NGO Consultations, he noted how challenging it was for the group to follow discussions due to the complicated and abstract language.[142] Even for professionals who are native English speakers, tackling UN policy-level discussions can feel "overwhelm[ing]...because it

[137] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.
[138] *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.
[139] *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.
[140] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.
[141] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.
[142] *Interview with Johannes Berndt*, 2019.

can be confusing and bureaucratic."[143] As such, newcomers to UN processes (refugees and otherwise) will need training in advance of attending policy-level discussions in order to fully understand the different processes.

Another barrier to incorporating meaningful participation of refugees into the GRF may prove to be the pledging model that stakeholders will use to make commitments about how they intend to implement the GCR's objectives. Some have noted that pledges made in previous conferences have been unenforceable.[144] With little follow-up or accountability, pledges that do not come to fruition, especially when contributed to by refugees themselves, may stoke distrust in the GRF and GCR more broadly. UNHCR has stated that they will develop a tracking tool to monitor pledge follow-through, but more details have yet to be publicly released about this.[145]

Another possible issue with the pledging system is that UNHCR has developed pre-selected themes around which they are encouraging pledges to take shape. However, the NGO community has flagged concerns with this model. ICVA has noted that "a theme-based approach may run counter to a context-based approach. Gaps, challenges, and opportunities in a given context may not match pre-defined global themes."[146] It is unclear how UNHCR came up with the themes and whether any refugee stakeholders were consulted. The guide UNHCR published to assist stakeholders in developing pledges does indicate that a "good practice" of pledges would be that they are "developed and/or implemented in partnership with other stakeholders, including refugees and host populations."[147] However, although there are many examples of pledges given in the guide, none appear to be framed in such a way that refugees or refugee-led organizations would be the planners or administrators of them. UNHCR has said they will offer opportunities for refugee-led groups to co-sponsor pledge themes as a mode of participation at the GRF.[148]

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[143] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.
[144] *ICVA and UNHCR Meeting*, 2019; *Interview with Anonymous Former Humanitarian Field Worker*, 2019.
[145] UNHCR. (2019). *The Global Refugee Forum: Pledges and Contributions Preliminary Considerations* (p. 1-3). Geneva. p. 2.
[146] International Council of Voluntary Agencies. (2019). *NGO Statement on Agenda Item 3: thematic priorities for the pledging process and the sharing of good practices* (p. 1-3). Geneva. p. 2.
[147] https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/5cc836594
[148] S. Madhuri Kannan, personal communication, May 17, 2019.

Recommendations

Now that the principles of robust stakeholder engagement and participatory processes have been laid out and the barriers to realizing this type of participatory process have been identified, I move to six recommendations that can be undertaken to realize meaningful participation of refugees by UNHCR and other partners at the GRF. Some recommendations are concrete actions that can be taken up immediately and could be realized before the GRF. Others are recommendations of which incremental steps can be taken immediately, but fully realizing the recommendation will take time and effort long after the first GRF has concluded. All recommendations are predicated on the belief that meaningful refugee participation is important and necessary, and is also in line with several statements to this effect by UNHCR.[149]

A clear definition of "refugee"

The first principle that UNHCR should contend with is the need to clearly identify who the stakeholders are that should be participating at the GRF. Earlier I noted that the literature on stakeholder engagement points to the notion that operating under a common understanding around who should be engaged, why their engagement is necessary, and when they should be engaged is key to designing a participatory process. In other words, "the appropriate stakeholders should be involved in the appropriate ways."[150] Who the key stakeholders are when the GCR calls for "meaningful engagement of refugees," though, has yet to be explicitly defined.

In my conversations with those involved in global refugee policy and humanitarian work, it became clear that not all actors understand who will and will not be included under the refugee stakeholder umbrella at the GRF. The GCR reads "states and relevant stakeholders will facilitate

[149] *Annual Consultations Concept Note,* UNHCR, 2019; *Annual Consultations Background Note,* UNHCR, 2019; United Nations. (2019). *"Towards a global compact on refugees" Thematic discussion two: Measures to be taken at the onset of a large movement of refugees and Thematic discussion three: Meeting needs and supporting communities* (p. 1-8). Palais des Nations.; United Nations. (2017). *"Towards a global compact on refugees" Thematic discussion four: Measures to be taken in pursuit of solutions and Thematic discussion five: Issues that cut across all substantive sections of the comprehensive refugee response, and overarching issues* (p. 1-10). Geneva.; "Towards a global compact on refugees" Thematic discussion four: Measures to be taken in pursuit of solutions and Thematic discussion five: Issues that cut across all substantive sections of the comprehensive refugee response, and overarching issues; UNHCR. (2017). *Thematic Discussion 1: Past and current burden-and responsibility-sharing arrangements* (No. 1). Geneva.

[150] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 27.

meaningful participation of refugees, including women, persons with disabilities, and youth, in Global Refugee Forums, ensuring the inclusion of their perspectives on progress."[151] The team coordinating the multi-stakeholder aspect of the GRF has said that they are operating under the 1951 Refugee Convention's definition of "refugee" as is the norm for all UN mandates and operations. They are also considering the ways that legal status changes over time, and how to include former refugees, returnees, and others in the refugee stakeholder group. [152] However, a concrete description of stakeholders to be included or excluded as it relates to their legal status in the stakeholder engagement strategy has yet to be made completely clear.

UNHCR must develop and make explicit a clear definition of "refugee stakeholder" before they can determine how to meaningfully engage them and clarify whether different status holders such as asylum-seekers or internally displaced persons (IDPs) will also be engaged. This definition should be publicly shared. Other key stakeholders have offered considerations for how to define "refugee" in this context. For instance, Professor James Milner who works on the Local Engagement Refugee Research Network out of Carleton University in Ottawa highlights the temporal considerations to defining who is a refugee. UNHCR must ask themselves, "when does someone stop being a refugee? What constitutes the refugee perspective? It is having a refugee experience in the past 5 years? Past 5 months?""[153] Professor Milner's questions highlight the necessity of determining what information UNHCR is hoping to glean from refugees and what they envision their role will be at the GRF.

Enzo Tabet-Cruz, Policy and Advocacy Officer at Plan International flags the way that people in different types of displacement situations will likely have different perspectives and experiences from which to draw upon when engaging in policy conversations. For example, refugees who have crossed international borders, internally displaced people, and refugees resettled in middle-income

[151] *Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: Part II Global compact on refugees*, 2018. p. 20.
[152] S. Madhuri Kannan, personal communication, May 17, 2019.
[153] *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.

or wealthy countries will bring a variety of perspectives from their diverse experiences. Will UNHCR include refugees that have been resettled 10, 15, or 20 years ago in their engagement efforts? Will they include IDPs? Will they include refugees who have crossed international borders but who have not been granted refugee or asylum status? Tina Hinh who helps to coordinate UNHCR-USA's Refugee Congress also suggests that "stateless" people should be considered when it comes to defining who a refugee is. The Refugee Congress opted to not include stateless people in their definition of "refugee," and UNHCR-USA is in the process of developing a separate, similar program targeted specifically at stateless people.[154]

Robert Hakiza, founder of Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID) and member of the Network for Refugee Voice's Steering Committee, and an anonymous expert in facilitating refugee participation who works at an international NGO highlight the challenges and necessity of including refugees in both urban settings and in camps. The anonymous expert notes that it is more difficult for UNHCR to communicate with "urban refugees" because they are dispersed throughout a city instead of concentrated in a single place, like a refugee camp. At the same time though, there are many more urban refugees today than there are refugees living in camps.[155] Hakiza's organization YARID demonstrates that it is possible to engage with urban refugees. Hakiza explains that "even though refugees are spread out across the city, some communities live roughly together."[156] For those that do not live in concentrated areas, there are "already existing communities and organizations"[157] that can be used as go-betweens when needing to reach refugees from a particular ethnic group.

Taking these considerations into account, I offer a proposed definition of "refugee" as it pertains to participation at GRF: *"a refugee as it pertains to facilitating participation at the GRF constitutes anyone who has crossed an international border seeking safety or was resettled in a third*

[154] *Interview with Tina Hinh*, 2019.
[155] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019
[156] *Interview with Robert Hakiza*, 2019.
[157] *Interview with Robert Hakiza*, 2019.

country in the last 15 years. This definition should encompass asylum seekers and those with asylum status, undocumented people who fled violence or persecution, and refugees in urban environments and in camps." This does not mean that refugees who crossed an international border or who were resettled more than 15 years ago should be excluded, however this definition classifies those people who should be most actively targeted for inclusion in participation at the GRF.

Defining participation that is meaningful

Similar to defining stakeholders, defining what type of participation is called for in a particular context is also a key principle in designing a useful participation process. Scholars noted that the most robust participation processes are defined by the level of influence that participants can have on outcomes. I also noted that facilitators should think about the features of a participation process that would make engagement by particular stakeholders most open, accessible, and impactful. Thus, in the GRF context, UNHCR must clearly define how to facilitate participation that can be defined as "meaningful."

The multi-stakeholder engagement team at UNHCR has begun constructing their idea of what "meaningful participation" entails. At the time of our conversation, they classified meaningful participation as facilitating stakeholder participation at all levels—local, national, regional, and global.[158] They also noted that within UNHCR there is a commitment to working with refugees, not just for them. UNHCR has said that more concrete modalities for meaningful refugee participation will be made publicly available beginning in the second quarter of this year.[159]

A critique of past attempts at including refugee participation in UN high-level processes is that they have been tokenistic. Professor Milner characterizes past attempts at refugee participation as largely "superficial and arguably performative"[160] such as a single refugee speaking at an opening plenary but otherwise having no substantive bearing on the outcome of the policy

[158] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani*, 2019.
[159] *Q & A*, UNHCR, 2019. p. 2.
[160] *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.

discussions. Similarly, Professor Linda Bartolomei, Director of the Centre for Refugee Research at the University of New South Wales echoed Professor Milner's observation saying that in the past, the extent of refugee engagement at high level forums was having an individual speak about their "sad story,"[161] without any further opportunity to discuss their own ideas and solutions. Tina Hinh from UNCR-USA's Refugee Congress critiqued the way that some efforts can have the "appearance of legitimacy"[162] but really have little access for refugees to reach the participation mechanisms in place.

Refugees at the Global Summit of Refugees in August 2018 developed pillars for refugee participation in policy processes. These features included that refugee participation must be representatively inclusive of refugees with cross-cutting identities, that refugees should "be guaranteed a seat at the negotiation table at all levels,"[163] and be seen "as equal partners"[164] during conversations relating to refugee policy. Similarly, the Network for Refugee Voices called for refugee participation mechanisms that "acknowledg[es] that refugees have agency, [and their] contribution is key to develop policies that are effective and sustainable."[165]

Many of the key interlocutors who I spoke with raised important considerations for how to ensure that participation of refugees is genuinely meaningful. Drawing from the principles of participatory processes also informs this question. Professor Milner in echoing much of the academic and grey literature noted the importance of ensuring that participation can actually "influence the outcome"[166] of policy discussions. Also in line with the literature, Professor Milner notes that refugees should be participating in any spaces where substantive decisions are being made. In terms of the GRF and other similar forums, much of the decision-making is done in preparatory conversations and during casual networking in between formal meetings.[167] For

[161] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.
[162] *Interview with Tina Hinh*, 2019.
[163] Asia Pacific Summit of Refugees (APSOR), 2018, p. 4.
[164] Asia Pacific Summit of Refugees (APSOR), 2018, p. 4.
[165] Network for Refugee Voices. (2017). *Declaration for Effective and Sustainable Refugee Policy* (p. 1-2). p. 2.
[166] *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.
[167] *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.

participation to be meaningful, then, it must include opportunities to engage in all phases of the GRF including its preparation.

Professor Elizbeth Ferris at Georgetown, Professor Bartolomei, Professor Milner, and Johannes Berndt of Plan International all highlighted the necessity of training and preparation for new participants at the UN.[168] As described previously, participating in the UN for the first time can be confusing, overwhelming, and difficult to follow because of the complex jargon and procedures that are used in formal meetings. Without the preparation and knowledge to be able to follow the process, participation will likely be more confusing than meaningful.

I propose that UNHCR takes up the following definition of "meaningful participation" and use this as a guide to developing mechanisms through which to facilitate refugee engagement at the GRF and beyond. *Meaningful participation means that participating stakeholders have the ability to influence decisions and outcomes at the GRF, in preparatory meetings, and in follow-up mechanisms. Meaningful participation necessitates that stakeholders offer not only personal experience and need identification, but are free to contribute ideas for solutions and ways forward. Refugee opinions are considered equally as important and valid as any other stakeholder. Participation processes should also include proper training ahead of engagement at the GRF to ensure that refugees are equipped with the necessary contextual knowledge and tools to actively, and effectively participate. UNHCR and other stakeholders must make concrete efforts to ensure that refugees can trust that they will not face retaliation or retribution for offering constructive critiques of other stakeholders. Finally, participation is truly meaningful when participants understand how their input will be used and what impact they had on the policy process.* I will explore some of these aspects in greater detail in the subsequent recommendations below.

Operational Paradigm Shift

Two more principles of participatory processes that I highlighted earlier include making an

[168] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.; *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.; *Interview with Johannes Berndt*, 2019.

effort to reconceptualize institutional understandings of beneficiary stakeholder groups and ensuring allocation of necessary resources to facilitate participation that is meaningful. Stakeholders engaging in participatory processes should be seen and appreciated "as social actors with skills, energy, ideas, and insight into their own situation. Local people should be agents of the humanitarian response rather than passive recipients."[169] This is true, too, of refugee stakeholders within the UN system.

An anonymous expert in facilitating refugee participation argues that UNHCR actors need to shift their thinking about refugees, and start acknowledging that refugee stakeholders bring useful knowledge and ideas to the table. She notes that in her experience, "refugees are not often asked about policy. We need to reframe our engagement with affected populations...They have quality ideas that are translatable into this [policy-level] context, and on the ground they're already leading interesting programs."[170] President of Australian Refugee Council Paul Power echoed this sentiment in a 2017 speech when he observed that refugees have been "seen as passive recipients of others' charity rather than people who have skills, capacity, and a strong motivation to be agents of change."[171] Refugees themselves also called for a shift in the lens through which they are viewed by the global humanitarian community, and by UNHCR in particular. In their Policy Discussion and Outcomes Paper that resulted from the 2018 Global Refugee Summit, participants noted that "UNHCR has framed active refugee participation a prerequisite for all its programs and operations, yet refugee participation has been limited to 'tick the box' consultations mostly at the local level and to 'subcontracting' relations."[172]

A critical piece of shifting the perception of refugee participation at UNHCR is acknowledging that doing so will take resources--time, staff, money. Professor Bartolomei noted that including refugees in the room at Geneva-based meetings is resource-intensive. However, she

[169] White, 1994. p. 25.
[170] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.
[171] Power, 2017. p. 2.
[172] Asia Pacific Summit of Refugees (APSOR), 2018. p. 6.

also pushed back on the idea that this barrier is insurmountable. The Centre for Refugee Research at New South Wales where Professor Bartolomei is the Director committed to raising funds for at least one refugee woman to attend Geneva-based meetings on refugee women. She also pointed to the Refugee Council of Australia who has a dedicated scholarship fund to support refugee participation at Geneva-level meetings.[173] Professor Ferris also proposed that it should be incumbent on UNHCR as the central convener of refugee policy discussions to allocate funds to support refugee attendance at high-level meetings.[174] Refugees at the Global Refugee Summit echoed this call noting that a piece of including refugees at policy discussions is assisting them in getting to the discussions, which may necessitate "considerations about allocation of resources"[175] toward refugee-led networks.

Thus, in order for meaningful participation of refugees to be facilitated, UNHCR leadership must work toward an organizational paradigm shift, starting with those in the most powerful, decision-making positions. *Leaders must start speaking about refugees and treating refugees as partners in deliberative policy processes. They must recognize and hold accountable all staff within UNHCR to recognize that refugees can contribute more than just their personal narrative or elucidate needs on the ground, but can and should offer ideas for solutions.*

Notably, UNHCR has taken some positive steps toward demonstrating their commitment to integrating this culture across the organization. The organization has committed to supporting refugee-led groups financially and technically as the groups hold meetings and to support developing additional entry points to participating in the GRF and its preparation.[176] *UNHCR then should continue this move toward budgeting resources, including staff, toward getting refugees in the room at policy deliberations and toward facilitating other participation mechanisms as appropriate.* The culture change described here will take time, as all culture change does. However, resources

[173] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.
[174] *Interview with Elizabeth Ferris*, 2019.
[175] Network for Refugee Voices, 2017.
[176] S. Madhuri Kannan, personal communication, May 17, 2019.

can be re-allocated more quickly, and would be a key signal throughout UNHCR that refugee participation is not only a spoken priority, but one worth taking concrete action on.

Pledge to create a Refugee Participation Facilitation Office at UNHCR

Many of the key principles that underpin robust participatory processes require extensive organization and intentional decision-making. In order for participatory processes that include representative participation to be inclusive as possible, stakeholder mapping and analysis should be taken up.[177] In order to understand the way power dynamics and resource ownership may threaten stakeholders' ability to engage in participation, facilitators may need to analyze stakeholders through a power versus interest grid.[178] In order for a participatory process to be accessible to the maximum number of stakeholders, facilitators may need to coordinate different outreach methods and collaborate with a wide variety of partners.

Based on the multifaceted organizational steps that must be taken to support the realization of the principles described above, it would be most useful for UNHCR to have an office dedicated to facilitating meaningful refugee participation at the GRF and during all other policy discussions. Thus, *I recommend that UNHCR uses the pledge model to create a new office within UNHCR dedicated explicitly and singularly toward implementing participatory modalities for refugees throughout all UNHCR decision-making processes (beginning with GRF); the office should employ refugees (or former refugees) where possible*. *This pledge could be included in a "mini compact" dedicated to increase refugee participation, and other actors could sign on to commit to incorporating refugee participation into their own programs or policies, or to contribute resources toward this cause.*

After speaking with members of the GRF multi-stakeholder coordination team at UNHCR, it became abundantly clear that this recommendation is critical for meaningful participation to be fully realized. As it currently stands, the team is charged with engaging and organizing the main

[177] See Bryson, 2004; White, 1994.
[178] Bryson, 2004.

stakeholder groups at the GRF including: host communities, refugees, humanitarian and development actors, cities and municipalities, international financial institutions, civil society organizations, and academic networks, among others. The three person team came together shortly after the GCR was signed in December 2018, giving them just one year to facilitate meaningful engagement with refugees and all other stakeholders at the GRF. The team recognizes that their mandate is hugely challenging and are hopeful that meaningful refugee participation will develop in iteratively.[179] The GRF Coordination team has and continues to engage in conversations around how they can draw from lessons-learned and the unique expertise that the organization has developed through their refugee protection work across the field.[180]

With such a broad mandate for only a small group to tackle, facilitating meaningful participation of refugees will be necessarily limited. If UNHCR had a designated office working toward this goal consistently, many of the important steps toward engaging refugees robustly, inclusively, and representationally could have already been taken or the framework already in place. Key questions such as what networks or groups are already representing portions of a community, and who is left out of these?[181] Do all stakeholders need to be engaged at every step of the process, or is it useful for different stakeholders to participate at different times?[182] could already be answered.

UNHCR is already perfectly situated to act as the central coordinator of facilitating refugee participation at a policy level. They have many field offices in addition to their headquarters in Geneva and New York. They are staffed with experts on the contexts where refugees are living around the world, and they have the necessary infrastructure to implement the multi-modality strategy that I recommend below.

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[179] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani*, 2019.
[180] S. Madhuri Kannan, personal communication, May 17, 2019.
[181] Head, 2007. p. 442.
[182] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 27.

I specifically recommend that an office such as this engage in the following activities and continue to review and update their results over time: stakeholder analysis to clearly define who "refugees" are in the context of the GCR; stakeholder mapping to identify refugee-led networks already in place around the world that could be useful collaborators on refugee engagement; conduct power analysis on all stakeholders engaged in the GCR using power versus interest grids;[183] *organize collaborations with expert organizations to ensure principles such as ensuring follow-up and openness to feedback and ensuring an accessible process are put in place.*

Some actors have already begun putting mapping and analysis strategies in place in this way. The Independent Diplomat has been using mapping techniques to keep track of where refugee-led networks are so that they can engage with them and help coordinate their participation in forums such as the GRF.[184] IOM has developed the Community Response Map, "an online feedback platform that facilitates online tracking, compilation, and visual mapping of communications received by target communities."[185] Existing refugee networks like the Asia Pacific Summit of Refugees have suggested this activity as useful in identifying "resources and opportunities"[186] for refugee engagement. Robert Hakiza, founder and Executive Director of YARID underlined the importance of tracking even loosely-organized refugee networks so humanitarian and development actors can ensure that they are reaching disparate, urban refugee groups.[187]

To ensure meaningful participation for refugees at the GRF, a multi-modality approach should be used

In an ideal world, direct participation of all refugees could be facilitated at the GRF. That is simply not possible. This does not mean that facilitators should not strive to engage as many refugees as deeply as possible, however. *A multi-modality approach can be used to engage*

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[183] Bryson, 2004.
[184] *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.
[185] Inter-Agency Standing Committee. (n.d.). *IASC Revised Commitments on Accountability to Affected Populations (AAP): Guidance Note for Principals and Managers* (pp. 1–9).
[186] APSOR, 2019. p. 12.
[187] Ngirwa, R. H. (n.d.). THE ROLE OF REFUGEE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE GOVERNANCE OF FORCED MIGRATION IN KAMPALA. *Governance and Patterns of Forced Migration*, 22. Retrieved from http://nebula.wsimg.com/a6687b72fe83b15861264a8a95afe1d0?AccessKeyId=6496228AA8AE910A0005&disposition=0&alloworigin=1

stakeholders based upon their particular situation, level of resources, and current capacity. A key principle when designing modalities to facilitate engagement is to reflect on what design considerations should be taken into account based on the purposes of that participatory process. Additionally, ideal mechanisms should be both participatory and inclusive. As a reminder, "participatory" mechanisms are typically "oriented to *increasing input* for decisions...encompass inviting many people to participation, making the process broadly accessible to and representative of the public at large, and collecting community input and using it to influence policy decisions."[188] Inclusion expands on this and seeks to "build the capacity of the community to implement the decisions and tackle related issues"[189] of the policy problem. Thus, the purpose of adding inclusivity into a participation process is to facilitate not only data gathering, but also to "mak[e] connections among people, across issues, and over time. It is an expansive and ongoing framework for interaction that...intentionally create[s] a community engaged in an ongoing stream of issues."[190] A multi-modality approach incorporates mechanisms for engagement that include participatory approaches, and approaches that are both participatory and inclusive, when possible.

Other principles of participatory processes can also be addressed by using a multi-modality approach. Participation should be accessible, safe, and appropriate to a person's situation. Because of some of the barriers discussed previously, direct participation at the GRF is not feasible for many refugees. Costs, political opposition, lack of appropriate institutional knowledge, risk, and inability to obtain travel documents can preclude many refugees from direct participation. However, participation is not a zero-sum game. By using tools like Arnstein's Ladder of Participation[191] or iap2's spectrum of participation[192], facilitators can determine how close to the highest level of participation they can facilitate for refugee stakeholders while also ensuring they are not impeded

[188] Quick & Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[189] Quick & Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[190] Quick & Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[191] Arnstein, 1969.
[192] International Association for Public Participation, n.d.

by barriers. They can use models of participation that are lower-risk, locally-grounded, and less active to construct mechanisms that work across the wide variety of stakeholders within the "refugee" group. This also emphasizes the importance of conducting a stakeholder analysis and mapping so to grapple with how stakeholders in different contexts may require different engagement mechanisms.

A multi-modality approach calls for a centralized way to organize meaningful engagement of refugee stakeholders, which points to the need for a central UNHCR office focused on this goal alone. Because UNHCR will need NGO and refugee-led organization support to implement some of the field-level engagement mechanisms I will suggest, a central office that can convene representatives from these various groups, map the stakeholders and needs, and match refugee groups with organizations who can facilitate their engagement in policy-level processes would be key.

One mechanism of participation that can be used at the GRF is engagement with refugee networks to mobilize representational participation and collect data from regional meetings. Groups like the Network for Refugee Voices have sent representatives to participate in preparatory meetings for the GRF already. The Multi-Stakeholder Coordination team at UNHCR also pointed out the significant role that groups like NRV are already playing in the lead up to the GRF as well as the follow-up to the Forum.[193] Organizations like NRV or the groups who met at the Global Summit of Refugees have submitted policy papers and recommendations to UNHCR regarding the GCR, GRF, and refugee responses more broadly.[194] More regional consultations are currently being planned to expand on this work.[195] UNHCR should actively engage with the recommendations from these consultations and summits along with including representatives from refugee-led groups in the room during preparatory meetings, networking opportunities, and at the GRF itself.

[193] *Interview with Sweta Madhuri Kannan and Afarin Dadkhah Tehrani*, 2019.; S. Madhuri Kannan, personal communication, May 17, 2019.
[194] Network for Refugee Voices, 2017.;, Asia Pacific Summit of Refugees (APSOR), 2018.; APSOR, 2019.; Ngirwa, n.d.
[195] Yarnell, M. (2019, May 16). *various initiatives to enable refugee participation in GRF preps: need for coordination?*

There is also a menu of methods to facilitate refugee participation at the policy-level that do not require refugees to travel, put themselves at risk, speak a UN language, or have monetary resources. Drawing on stakeholder mapping, understandings of the benefits and drawbacks of top-down or bottom-up participatory approaches, and aiming for the most robust levels of participation while balancing barriers, facilitators can gathering input from many refugees at various levels of depth. Input can inform preparatory processes, pledge-making, and follow-up assessments. Facilitators should, when possible, maximize refugee facilitation and leadership in implementing participatory mechanisms, in line with the paradigm shift of seeing refugees as equal partners and knowledge-holders discussed previously.

Below, I offer a brief list of mechanisms that can be used to facilitate refugee participation at different levels and in different contexts. I will not discuss them in great depth, but offer them as examples of the ways participatory principles can be made real.

Robert Chambers offers a number of ways that UNHCR can gather input from refugees in the field, and encourages these models be facilitated by refugees themselves.[196] Chambers' developed the "Rapid and Participatory Rural Appraisal" model of gathering input that builds upon the much-used "Rapid Rural Appraisal" model of gathering input in rural areas. Chambers suggests that mapping and modeling exercises, quantification and estimates, ranking preferences or needs, assigning scores, and creating diagrams can be used in rural contexts to collect opinions and be led by affected populations with success.[197]

A number of NGOs have used models of gathering input, feedback, and ideas from refugee constituents successfully in urban, settlement, and resettlement contexts. These models are ripe for duplication. UNHCR itself tackled the challenge of engaging dispersed urban refugee communities through a Community Support Committees (CSCs) program in Jordan.[198] CSCs "allow a space for

[196] Chambers, R. (1991). *Rapid and Participatory Rural Appraisal* (pp. 1–16). Brighton, England: Institute of Development Studies. p. 5.
[197] Chambers, 1991. p. 6.
[198] Abdulhadi, L., & Sarrado, O. (2017). *Jordan: Community Support Committees* (p. 7). Jordan: UNHCR. p. 2.

community dialogue…[and] provide a platform to relay important information on issues that affect vulnerable communities."[199] The groups themselves create the agenda for discussion and strive for equal representation of their communities and intentionally include representatives who are men, women, the young, elderly, people with vulnerabilities, and people with disabilities.[200] This model is in line with the principles of acting to smooth out power disparities through agenda-setting, and working toward appropriate representation. For this model to be fully "meaningful," input offered through the CSCs would need to be considered at policy-level meetings and UNHCR would need to deliver follow-up with how this input was utilized.

Other models of community meetings have demonstrated their benefits and drawbacks, as well as their viability in different contexts. For instance, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, community meetings initiated by local urban planners, but ultimately facilitated by resettled Somali refugee leaders from a local civil society organization successfully gathered input from some of the local Somali community. However, it is likely the input was not entirely representative of the Somali community there, and may have excluded certain, less populous clans or certain demographic groups.[201] In Bangladesh, where the persecuted Rohingya refugees from Myanmar have fled, Muhib Ullah founded the Arakan Rohingya Society for Peace and Human Rights. He leads community meetings at the displacement camps and has worked to elevate the Rohingya plight through support from the Office for the High Commissioner of Refugees.[202]

The International Rescue Committee's (IRC) "Client Voice and Choice Initiative" developed in collaboration with Ground Truth Solutions is another model that could be replicated in certain contexts to gather refugee input for policy discussions. In this model, facilitators use a combination of intentionally-designed surveys, dialogue, and one-on-one interviews to collect input from refugees. The model specifically "encourages the organization to communicate back to clients both

[199] Abdulhadi & Sarrado, 2017. p. 2.
[200] Abdulhadi & Sarrado, 2017. p. 4.
[201] Allen & Schively Slotterback, 2017.
[202] *Interview with Daniel Sullivan* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer). (2019, April 26).

the feedback received and what is being done in response."[203] Significantly, within the model itself is a multi-modality approach. IRC has found that while surveys (called "a proactive mode") are important for specific questions that facilitators are seeking to have answered, they are limiting in that they do not allow participants to inform what type of information is gathered.[204] IRC finds that including "reactive channels" and "open channels" such as "complaint boxes" or "ongoing and open dialogue with clients" are just as important for gathering fully nuanced input that is representative of the entire group.[205] Again, for this model to be fully meaningful, input offered through Client Voice and Choice would need to be equally considered at policy-level meetings and UNHCR would need to deliver follow-up with how this input was utilized.

Technology also offers many modalities through which refugee participation can be facilitated. While some groups will not have access to the necessary tools to participate in technology-based modalities, they are useful options for refugee groups who do have access, but are unable to travel. For example, the CDAC Network facilitates communication during humanitarian emergencies by working with a number of actors including governments, media companies, technology companies, and others "to ensure communication and community engagement 'platforms' are set up and ready for future disasters. Some of the technological methods that have been devised through their research could be used to actualize the follow-up that should happen after refugee communities provide input to policy processes. Examples of such methods include community radio initiatives, social media communications, or hotlines. Some of these tools can also be used to form "a common feedback mechanism" (CFM)[206] to gather input from communities as well as provide follow-up reports.

Professor Ferris suggests that video conferencing can also be useful when communities and

[203] International Rescue Committee. (2016). *IRC Client Voice and Choice Initiative and Ground Truth Solutions* (Case Study No. X; p.1-16). p. 1.
[204] International Rescue Committee, 2016. p. 3.
[205] International Rescue Committee, 2016. p. 2.
[206] CDAC Network, 2019. p. 32.

institutions have the capacity to use it well.[207] For instance, Refugee Council of Australia uses teleconferences to connect with refugee community-based organizations and service providers throughout the country on a regular basis.[208] UNHCR could use Facebook live or other similar services to broadcast GRF sessions to the public. Refugees could have the option to send in questions via a chat function as they watch the proceedings. Feedback Labs suggests smartphones as a way to communicate information to populations as well as to collect input from refugees "to understand refugees' needs and concerns in real-time."[209] At the 2018 Refugee Congress, refugee stakeholders around the globe contributed thoughts and input both in Geneva and via online platforms successfully.[210] UNHCR should be cautious about using technology as the only way to facilitate participation, though. Many refugee group do not have access to the tools needed for this type of engagement.

Other organizations are developing new technological tools that could provide groundbreaking modes of refugee participation. UNHCR should actively seek out partnerships with groups like Techfugees and MIT's Changing Places Group. These groups bring expertise in technology and connectivity and combine it with the desire to support refugee inclusion and success.[211]

Finally, the last modality of participation that I recommend is a refugee-only delegation at the GRF. I will discuss this modality in the next section.

UNHCR should include a refugee-only delegation at the GRF and encourage Member States and NGOs to include at least one refugee in their delegation

It has been established that when stakeholders are able to have direct input and impact on

[207] *Interview with Elizabeth Ferris*, 2019.
[208] Chia, J. (2019). *A New Opportunity for Global Leadership: Options for Australia's Refugee and Humanitarian Program in 2019-20* (p. 30). Australia: Refugee Council of Australia. p. 8.
[209] Feedback Labs, n.d. p. 20.
[210] *Interview with Robert Hakiza*, 2019.
[211] Noyman, A., Holtz, T., Kroger, J., Rainer Noennig, J., & Larson, K. (2017). Finding Places: HCI Platform for Public Participation in Refugees' Accommodation Process. *Procedia Computer Science*, *112*, 2643–2472.; Techfugees. (n.d.). Retrieved May 16, 2019, from Techfugees website: https://techfugees.com/.

outcomes, participation is most meaningful.[212] *As such, it is paramount that refugees are in the room at the GRF and in the remaining preparatory meetings through a refugee delegation. The group should hold the same power as an NGO delegation at GRF. Additional representation should be strongly encouraged by UNHCR through NGOs and Member States including refugees on their delegation and providing resources to facilitate their travel where possible.*

A refugee delegation should be as representative as possible in order to ensure that even the most marginalized amongst refugees have some level of input. A stakeholder analysis and mapping would help to inform this group's makeup. Ahead of a comprehensive mapping and analysis exercise, I propose that the delegation is made up of refugees from the following groups. This list was informed by the input gathered in interviews with key actors in the refugee response space.[213] One representative could embody multiple representational categories. The delegation, then, should include: a young person, an elderly person, a woman and/or girl, a man and/or boy, an LGBTQ+ person, a person living with a disability, a refugee living in a camp, a refugee living in an urban setting, and a refugee who has been resettled. The countries of origin of the five largest refugee crisis today should also be represented: Syria, Afghanistan, South Sudan, Myanmar, and Somalia.[214] If UNHCR decides upon a definition for "refugee" that includes legal statuses such as stateless person, IDP, or asylum seeker, those should also be represented in the delegation, where possible. *The Global Refugee-Led Network could facilitate the selection of delegates, perhaps through voting, for the 2019 GRF. Delegates should then be rotated for subsequent GRF's to ensure representation across time.*

UNHCR should partner with RCOA and other interested NGOs and refugee networks to offer UNHCR advocacy training ahead of the GRF

[212] Arnstein, 1969.; International Association for Public Participation, n.d.
[213] *Interview with Jerome Elie (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Skype]. (2019, March 11)*.; *Interview with James Milner*, 2019.; *ICVA and UNHCR Meeting* [Web Meeting]. (2019). Geneva.; *Interview with Johannes Berndt*, 2019; *Interview with Anonymous NGO Policy Expert*, 2019.; *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.; *Interview with Enzo Tabaut-Cruz*, 2019.; *Interview with Kellie Leeson* (H. Drozdowski, Interviewer) [Telephone]. (2019, April 19).
[214] The world's 5 biggest refugee crises. (n.d.). Retrieved from Mercy Corps website: https://www.mercycorps.org/articles/worlds-5-biggest-refugee-crises.

A principle of the most robust participation process is that it should be inclusive.[215] A participatory process that is inclusive "builds the capacity of the community to implement the decisions and tackle related issues"[216] of the policy problem. It is true that "individuals and groups have very different starting points in terms of the knowledge and experience that contribute to effective participation."[217] This is especially relevant in the case of bringing stakeholders to formal, Geneva-based, UN discussions that are conducted under particular rules and expectations. For instance, a seasoned NGO professional will likely have far more experience working within UN processes than a refugee representative who is participating for the first time. Indeed, "thoughtless inclusion"[218] without supporting stakeholders with the necessary training and tools is not really meaningful participation at all.

Stemming from this, I recommend that UNHCR partners with RCOA to provide UNHCR advocacy training ahead of the GRF in Geneva. This training has already been designed and used to train many refugee stakeholders in the past. Designed by Eileen Pittaway and James Thomson, the training manual called *A Guide for NGOs to Participating in UNHCR's Annual Consultations with NGOs*, includes "an orientation to the UN, effective advocacy practices, strategies for engagement at formal meetings and informal meetings, the politics of the UN process, logistics"[219] among many other important lessons. The curriculum offers participants role playing exercises to practice what they learned and helps participants refine their advocacy materials for maximum impact.

UNHCR should collaborate with relevant partners to design follow-up mechanisms to ensure refugee participation is met with a response and to collect data on pledge implementation

I have described how important feedback loops are to ensuring that participation is meaningful. When institutions follow-up with refugee groups who offered input to policy

[215] Quick & Feldman, 2011.
[216] Quick and Feldman, 2011. p. 274.
[217] Head, 2007. p. 450.
[218] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.
[219] *Interview with Linda Bartolomei*, 2019.

conversations, power is more equally distributed.[220] When refugees are able to follow the implementation process of policy decisions, institutions are more accountable to the constituents on the ground. Having pathways by which to offer and receive feedback from UNHCR also may help build refugee capacity and willingness to engage in policy-making and implementation processes.[221] Open feedback loops also contribute to a participatory process that is transparent, and allows refugees to provide data to UNHCR regarding whether pledges are being implemented and how effective they have been.[222] In particular, many actors working on the GRF have requested ways to effectively track pledge commitments.[223]

I recommend that UNHCR should collaborate with organizations who have expertise in designing and implementing feedback loops, particularly in humanitarian settings, to communicate to refugees how their input is being used in Geneva, to ensure accountability of pledge makers, and to facilitate data collection. Organizations like Feedback Labs, Keystone Accountability, and Ground Truth Solutions have track records of successfully designing feedback mechanisms in humanitarian settings and should be key collaborators post-GRF.

Conclusion

Facilitating meaningful refugee participation at the GRF is a complicated, lofty mission. It is also possible. Steps can be taken almost immediately to ensure a robust, meaningful participatory experience for refugees who attend the GRF, as well as those who cannot be there in person. UNHCR must explicitly define and communicate how "refugee" is being defined at the GRF. It should pledge to establish an office that is appropriately resourced to conduct stakeholder mapping and analysis processes on an ongoing basis to ensure no refugee stakeholder is ignored. UNHCR should

[220] Feedback Labs, n.d. p. 21.
[221] van der Velde, Williamson, & Ogilvie, 2009. p. 1300.
[222] CDAC Network, 2019. p. 32.
[223] International Council of Voluntary Agencies. (2019). *NGO statement on the global compact on refugees and on preparations for the first Global Refugee Forum* (p.1- 3). Retrieved from https://reliefweb.int/report/world/executive-committee-high-commissioner-s-programme-standing-committee-74th-meeting-ngo-2. p. 1.; International Council of Voluntary Agencies. (2019). *NGO Statement on Agenda Item 3: thematic priorities for the pledging process and the sharing of good practices* (p.1- 3). Geneva.; *Interview with Anonymous Former Humanitarian Field Worker*, 2019.

immediately ensure inclusion of refugees at remaining preparatory meetings and begin taking steps to achieving representational inclusion of refugees at the GRF. UNHCR should begin now working with refugee networks to develop a refugee delegation who can attend the GRF and actively push Member States and NGOs to include at least one refugee on their delegation where possible.

Beginning now and extending long past GRF, UNHCR leadership should work to shift the paradigm through which the organization views refugee participation. Refugees should be seen as partners, knowledge-holders, and actors who have ideas and feedback to offer beyond identifying needs. UNHCR should work to implement a multi-modality approach to refugee participation at the GRF, and continue to expand those available modalities to cater to different groups of refugees living in a variety of contexts.

The time is now to genuinely work towards meaningful participation of refugees at UN policy discussions. The large number of self-organized refugee networks is evidence that refugees are capable and ready to contribute to discussions on both needs and solutions to refugee protection issues. It is incumbent on UNHCR to open the space and provide the support to fully realize meaningful refugee participation at the GRF and into the future.

Annex I

Figure 1[224]:

Table 2 Multiple Purposes of Public Participation, with Associated Design Considerations and Proposed Outcome Evaluation Criteria

Purposes	Design Considerations	Proposed Outcome Evaluation Criteria
Meet legal requirements—for example, to provide public notices of upcoming actions or in preliminary scoping efforts for environmental impact assessments (Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003; Slotterback 2008)	• Clarify legal requirements • Observe sunshine laws • Consider alternatives to traditional public notices and meetings—for example, use of social media and online comment boards may be effective and efficient ways to fulfill these requirements.	• Legal requirements for public noticing and comment met • Efficient cost of communication and outreach
Embody the ideals of democratic participation and inclusion—for example, to achieve or represent the public interest through diverse participation, provide an opportunity for participants to enhance their own capacities to engage in democratic citizenship, or produce lasting achievements of public value (Mansbridge 1999; Young 2000; Fung and Wright 2003; Nabatchi 2010)	• Perform stakeholder analysis and design the process to encourage active participation by those with interests at stake, making particular efforts to be inclusive • Act in response to participants' contributions, encouraging diverse views and reflecting them in outcomes • Deliberative approaches can help participants develop capacity and commitment for ongoing contributions	• Inclusiveness of composition of participants • Discernible, communicated impact of participation on outcomes • Positive effects on citizenship (e.g., participants' increased understanding of how to participate in democratic processes, greater commitment to do so, or elevated sense of efficacy in ability to affect decision making)
Advance social justice—for example, by improving equity in distributing public services or by increasing a marginalized group's influence over decisions (Abers 2000; Andrews, Cowell, and Downe 2010; Corburn 2003)	• Perform stakeholder analysis and recruit diverse stakeholders • Enable diverse participation (i.e., by enabling multiple ways to participate, providing language translation or child care, and selecting accessible meeting locations and times) • Consider the distribution of benefits and harms	• Adequacy and diversity of stakeholder representation • Improved distribution of benefits and harms ensuing from the decisions
Inform the public—for example, about decisions that have been made or about changes in policies, resources, or programs (Nabatchi 2012b)	• Informing the public and maintaining transparency about decisions may be sufficient	• Large number of people reached or the target population reached • Diversity of modes or venues used to inform public • Increased public awareness of targeted policy issues • Public satisfied they have been informed
Enhance understanding of public problems, and explore and generate potential solutions (Deyle and Slotterback 2009; Godschalk and Stiftel 1981; Webler et al. 1995)	• Deliberative approaches and small-group formats can help participants understand issues and contribute to problem solving • Design processes for sharing information and engaging and exchanging views among participants to promote understanding and discovery of new options; help participants learn about each other's perspectives, the broader context, and possibly change their views; present information in various formats and from a variety of sources (Daniels and Walker 1996; Webler et al. 1995) • Balance technical expertise and broader stakeholder representation (Innes and Booher 2010)	• Changes in individual or collective assumptions, frameworks, or preferences • Changes in participants' knowledge of issues, ability to articulate interests, and appreciation of other perspective • Generation of new problem definitions and potential solutions
Produce policies, plans, and projects of higher quality in terms of their content	• Use deliberative, collaborative approaches to promote learning (Forester 1999; Healey 1997; Innes and Booher 2010) • Shift decision making to an appropriate scale (e.g., regional, local) to take advantage of relevant knowledge and investment in outcomes (Koontz and Thomas 2006; Mandarano 2008; Margerum 2011) • If the problem is complex and technical quality is necessary, engage in boundary work among different ways of knowing (Feldman et al. 2006), or limit participation to content experts or give special emphasis to their role (Thomas 1995)	• Validation of the quality of decisions by informed content experts, using context-specific criteria related to, for example, economic efficiency, safety, reliability, feasibility, equity, environmental impact, etc.

[224] Bryson, Quick, Schively Slotterback, & Crosby, 2013. p. 25-26.

Figure 1 cont.

Purposes	Design Considerations	Proposed Outcome Evaluation Criteria
Generate support for decisions and their implementation—for example, by producing decisions that address the public's needs and concerns; resolving disputes; creating alliances for advocacy and implementation; and generating resources for implementation (Brody, Godschalk, and Burby 2003; Godschalk and Stiftel 1981; Laurian and Shaw 2009; Moynihan 2003;Wondolleck and Yaffee 2000)	• Avoid making decisions so that stakeholders feel left out, for example, by making them narrowly or hastily or by delegating decision making to small, elite, or exclusive groups (Feldman and Quick 2009; Nutt 2002; Thomas 1995) • Emphasize procedural fairness to enhance acceptance of decisions even among those with a different preferred outcome (Schively 2007); encourage broad participation, especially of key stakeholders; engage in shared knowledge generation and relational work to foster joint ownership of the problem analysis and outcomes (Innes and Booher 2010; Wondolleck and Yaffee 2000) • Utilize conflict management and negotiation techniques (Fisher, Ury, and Patton 2011), including consensus-oriented approaches that aim for win–win solutions (Forester 1999; Innes and Booher 1999; Margerum 2002)	• Participants satisfied with the process • High level of agreement with fairness of decision process • High level of agreement with decision outcomes, possibly consensus • Minimal lawsuits, conflicts, delays, mistakes, or other obstacles to implementing decisions • Resources available for implementation
Manage uncertainty—for example, to build trust, increase the quality of information informing decisions, stabilize relationships, and minimize risk from unanticipated changes in the external environment (Friend and Hickling 2005; Rowe and Frewer 2004; Wondolleck and Yaffee 2000)	• Acknowledge where uncertainty exists • Maximize participation and encourage information sharing to provide clarity about the external environment and values • Build relationships to reduce uncertainty in them and provide a holding frame for negotiating over differences and resources	• Persistence of a structure or relationships for ongoing learning and negotiation • Limited number of problems caused by misinterpretation of or unanticipated changes in values, relationships, or information • Reduced conflict among stakeholders • Trust in decision makers or decision-making process
Create and sustain adaptive capacity for ongoing problem solving and resilience—for example, by emphasizing social and transformative learning; relationships, social capital, and trust; and sustained engagement (Forester 1999; Goldstein 2012; Innes and Booher 1999, 2010; Jordan, Bawden, and Bergmann 2008; Webler et al. 1995)	• Deliberative, consensus-based, or collaborative approaches frequently facilitate transformative learning; include diverse perspectives to optimize learning and involve key stakeholders; support developing shared meaning via interacting and learning about each other's interests, preferences, values, and worldviews through "collaborative science" (Mandarano 2008) • Build social capital among participants for ongoing work by building connections, enhancing relationships, and fostering trust that can carry on beyond a single decision-making process into future collaboration and communication (Innes and Booher 1999; Quick and Feldman 2011)	• Creation of new structures (relationships, partnerships, and resources) to support broad participation in ongoing planning, implementation, and evaluation • Sustained, diverse participation in management that adapts to changed circumstances • Use of collaboratively agreed criteria for decision making or performance management • Sustained collective ability to address new problems and support ongoing management (e.g., of program, resources, problem) • Improved alignment of participants' expectations and actions with collective understandings and goals

Figure 2[225]:

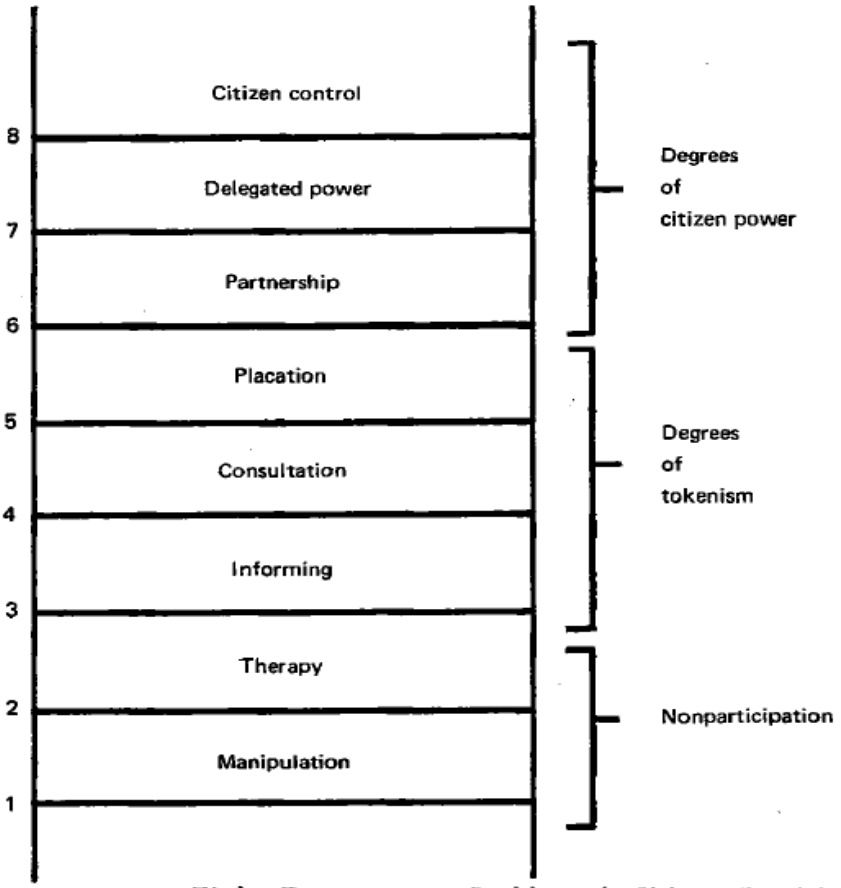
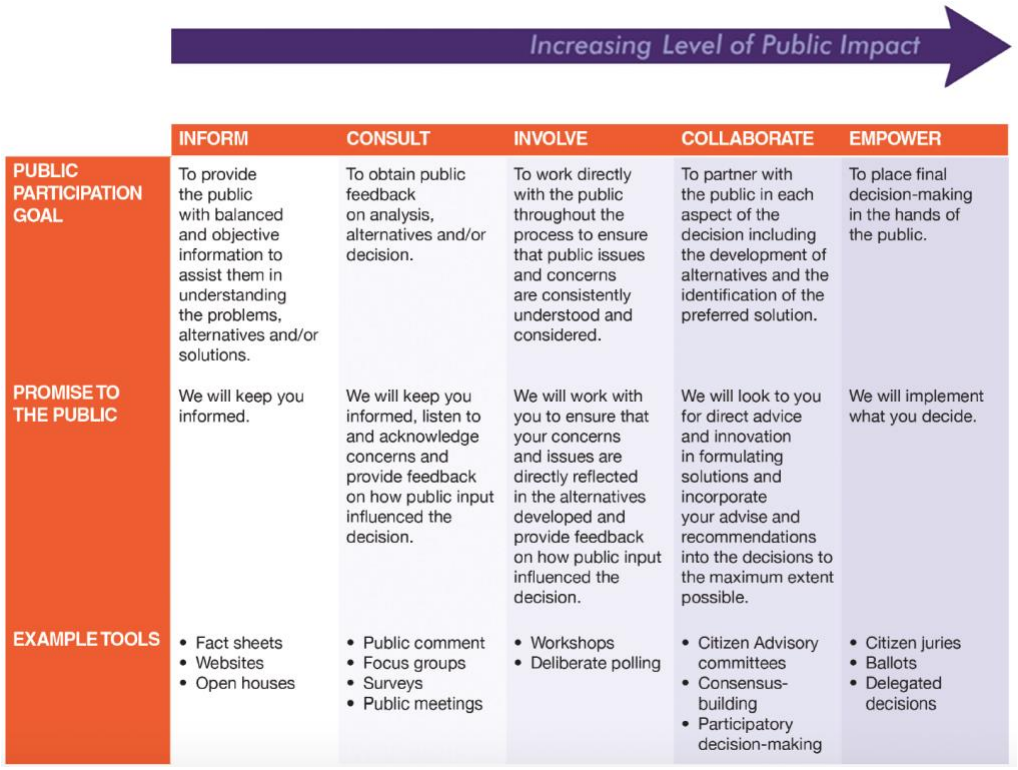


FIGURE 2 *Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation*

[225] Arnstein, 1969. p. 217.

Figure 3[226]:



	INFORM	CONSULT	INVOLVE	COLLABORATE	EMPOWER
PUBLIC PARTICIPATION GOAL	To provide the public with balanced and objective information to assist them in understanding the problems, alternatives and/or solutions.	To obtain public feedback on analysis, alternatives and/or decision.	To work directly with the public throughout the process to ensure that public issues and concerns are consistently understood and considered.	To partner with the public in each aspect of the decision including the development of alternatives and the identification of the preferred solution.	To place final decision-making in the hands of the public.
PROMISE TO THE PUBLIC	We will keep you informed.	We will keep you informed, listen to and acknowledge concerns and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will work with you to ensure that your concerns and issues are directly reflected in the alternatives developed and provide feedback on how public input influenced the decision.	We will look to you for direct advice and innovation in formulating solutions and incorporate your advise and recommendations into the decisions to the maximum extent possible.	We will implement what you decide.
EXAMPLE TOOLS	• Fact sheets • Websites • Open houses	• Public comment • Focus groups • Surveys • Public meetings	• Workshops • Deliberate polling	• Citizen Advisory committees • Consensus-building • Participatory decision-making	• Citizen juries • Ballots • Delegated decisions

[226] International Association for Public Participation, n.d.

Figure 4[227]:

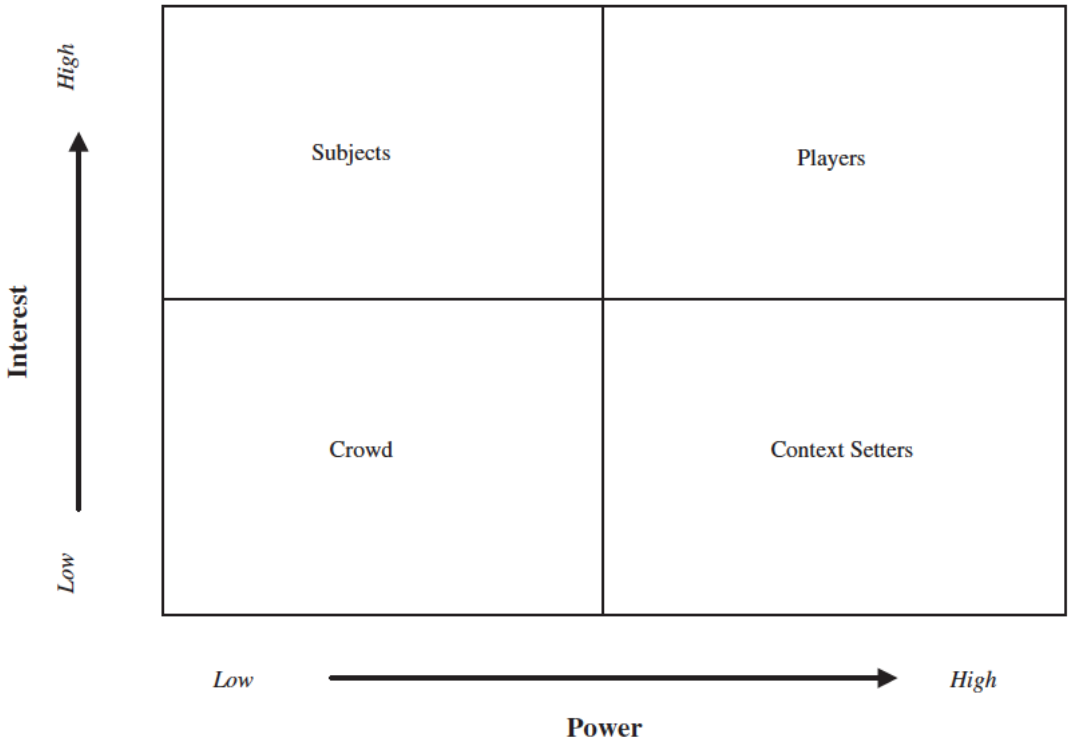


Figure 3 Power versus interest grid
Source: Eden and Ackermann (1998: 122).

[227] Bryson, 2004. p. 30.